



A TRYST IN THE HEAVENS.

By Courtesy of the Artist, Babu Saradacharan Ukil.

THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. XXV
No. 2

AUGUST, 1918

WHOLE
No. 140

LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK'S INDIAN ADMINISTRATION

LORD William Bentinck had served as Governor of Madras but was recalled after the outbreak of the Mutiny at Vellore. The disgrace was rankling in his breast, and so he applied for the post of Governor-General of India after the retirement of Lord Amherst. The course which he adopted was an unusual one. But it has been justified on the ground that

"He wished that the country which had been the scene of his undeserved humiliation, should also be the scene of his administrative triumphs. These considerations must be taken into full account, if we would form an accurate estimate of the motives which induced Lord William Bentinck to appear as a candidate for the office." *

Sir William Kaye, from whose article in the *Calcutta Review* the above extract has been made, mentions the special qualifications which Bentinck possessed for the Indian administration. He writes :

"When formerly Governor of Madras, he had devoted his active mind with great ardour to the study of Indian politics. He had made himself master of every subject connected with the internal economy and working of the Government. He had sketched out many plans for the improvement of the administration. In his eagerness to carry those views into effect, and to prevent their being subverted by superior authority, he had, in one instance, adopted the extraordinary step of quitting his own presidency and proceeding to Calcutta." †

But no Indian having any sense of self-respect and not altogether wanting in patriotism, can praise Lord Bentinck for all the trouble he took for making himself master of every subject connected with the working of the government, during the period of his governorship of Madras. True it is, that during this period of his governorship, he was quick enough to perceive the benefits which Muhammadan rule had conferred on the natives of this country and which the Anglo-Indian Government of that day from the very nature of

its constitution was precluded from doing. He wrote :

"In many respects the Mahomedans surpassed our rule ; they settled in the countries which they conquered ; they intermixed and intermarried with the natives ; they admitted them to all privileges ; the interests and sympathies of the conquerors and the conquered became identified. Our policy, on the contrary, has been the reverse of this,—cold, selfish and unfeeling."

It was easy for him to diagnose the disease and mention its symptoms. He knew the remedy also—the remedy which was calculated to cure the disease. But he did not propose to apply the remedy. It was during his governorship that one of the members of his council at Madras, by the name of Mr. William Thackeray, penned a minute from which the following extracts are made :

"It is very proper that in England, a good share of the produce of the earth should be appropriated to support certain families in affluence, to produce senators, sages, and heroes for the service and defence of the state,.....The leisure, independence, and high ideas, which the enjoyment of this rent affords, has enabled them to raise Britain to the pinnacle of glory. Long may they enjoy it ;—but in India, that haughty spirit, independence, and deep thought, which the possession of great wealth sometimes gives, ought to be suppressed. They are directly adverse to our power and interest.....We do not want generals, statesmen, and legislators ; we want industrious husbandmen."

Referring to the above, Mr. Digby truly observes :—

"Mr. Thackeray was without excuse. Lord William Bentinck, who of set purpose selected Mr. Thackeray as his mouthpiece, they holding ideas in common, is even more without excuse."

(Prosperous British India, p. 41).

If we remember the above facts, we shall be able to understand Bentinck's policy when he held the office of Governor-General of India. Of course, he was not popular with the Anglo-Indian community of his day, because he disturbed the allowances of the civil and military

* *Calcutta Review*, Vol. I. p. 341

† *Ibid*, p. 340.

officers. He was denounced by his Christian countrymen, because he touched their pockets. It is on this account that the memory of Lord William Bentinck is held in execration in the annals of Anglo-India. Even the paid historiographer of the East India Company, Mr. Thornton, had no good words to say of Lord Bentinck. The reader is referred to his History of British India for the estimate he formed of his lordship. * So fair-minded a writer as the Honorable Mr. Frederick Shore wrote of Lord Bentinck :

"But what has been the general result of Lord William's government? What has become of his determination to do his best for the interests of the people over whom he has been placed? Professions in abundance we have had; it has been a government of professions, which has begun and ended in words. It may have been his intention to have fulfilled them; but he forgot to add the qualifying proviso, that his good intentions were never to interfere with the main principle of the British Indian Government, profit to themselves and their masters at the expense of the people of India. * * The abominable system of purveyance and forced labour is still in full force. The commerce and manufactures of the country are daily deteriorated by the vexatious system of internal duties which is still preserved—.....the people are neither happier nor richer than they were before—indeed, their impoverishment has been progressive—for while the evils enumerated have continued in full force, the revenue screw has scarcely been relaxed half a thread of the many hundreds of which it is composed;.....while the natives, the East Indians, and the English settlers, are found equally murmuring at the little which has been practically done to improve their condition."

(Notes on Indian Affairs, Vol. II., pp. 223-224).

But because he was unpopular with his own countrymen, it does not necessarily follow that he wanted to injure them. No, he was their true friend and well-wisher.

* "It remains only to state that he (Lord Bentinck) quitted India in May, 1835, having held the office of Governor-General somewhat longer than the ordinary period; but having done less for the interest of India and for his own reputation than any who had occupied his place since the commencement of the nineteenth century, with the single exception of Sir George Barlow. His besetting weakness was vanity—the idol of his worship was popularity, and he sought to win its behests by an unrestrained sacrifice to what is called the 'Spirit of the Age.' Economy was in fashion, and therefore Lord William Bentinck was an economist. It was a period when showy and noisy pretension was permitted, in many instances, to carry off the rewards and honors which were due only to deep and solid attainments, and Lord William Bentinck challenged praise for a system designed to work in accordance with the popular feeling—professing to foster merit, but, in truth, calculated to foster only undue influence..... For all these acts, charity itself can assign no motive but a weak and inordinate appetite for temporary admiration." Vol. V. pp. 235-36.

Every political and administrative measure that he carried out in India was for their benefit and calculated to do harm to the natives of the soil.

By Indian historians in general, Lord William Bentinck is considered to have been a peace-loving Governor-General. It is true that he did not involve India in costly wars like those of which his predecessors like Wellesley, Marquis Hastings and Lord Amherst had been guilty. But then the finances of the country were in such a precarious condition when he was appointed to the high post of Governor-General that he could not indulge in the luxury of any costly war. He had to carry out retrenchments and so he was obliged to touch the pockets of his own co-religionists and compatriots, for which he was so unpopular with them.

However, there was one war during his regime by which a large province was made to lose its independence. Coorg was coveted by Anglo-Indians, because it appeared to them almost a paradise on earth. Says Mr. L. Bowring, who was for some years Chief Commissioner of Mysore and Coorg, in his "Eastern Experiences" :—

"Few parts of India are more picturesque than the little hill province of Coorg, and nowhere can be found a more gallant and loyal race than its inhabitants..... In former days, when to a native mind, the merit of a territory was its inaccessibility, few States enjoyed such an immunity from invasion as Coorg, the only approaches to it being through dense tangled woods, or up the face of steep mountains, clothed with forest trees, and cut up by stony water-courses."

It was to lift the *purdah* of and annex this beautiful land, that Lord William Bentinck made a war on its sovereign. The princes of Coorg were always friendly to the English. When the latter went to war with Tippoo, the help which they received from the then reigning prince of Coorg, made them conclude a treaty with Coorg in 1790 with the following stipulations;—

- "1. While the sun and moon endure, the faith of the contracting parties shall be kept inviolate.
2. Tippoo and his allies are to be treated as common enemies. The Rajah will do all in his power to assist the English to injure Tippoo.
3. The Rajah will furnish, for fair payment, all the supplies his country affords, and have no connection with other 'topiwallahs.'
4. The Company guarantee the independence of Coorg, and the maintenance of the Rajah's interests in the case of a peace with Tippoo.
5. An asylum and every hospitality is offered to the Rajah and his family at Tellicherry until the establishment of peace.

God, Sun, Moon and Earth be witnesses!"—The *Calcutta Review*, September, 1856, p. 188.

But as usual with the East India Company, their dealings with Coorg were not fair. It would seem that Lord Bentinck was bent upon annexing Coorg because he knew its value to the colonisers of his race and creed when he was Governor of Madras. No trouble would have occurred, had the Coorg question been properly dealt with. The claims of the last Rajah of Coorg were not well founded. Revd. Dr. Mœgling, in his history of Coorg, published in the *Calcutta Review* for September 1856, wrote :

"The present Ex-Rajah succeeded. He was acknowledged by the British Government without any difficulty, it appears. Devammaji's claims, and the promises of the Supreme Government given to her father were overlooked. The resolution of the Marquis of Hastings, that the Coorg question should be investigated when Virarajendra's daughter would reach majority, seems to have been forgotten."

The Raja was represented (or mis-represented) to be an incarnation of the Devil, and it was said that he delighted in murdering in cold blood his relatives and subjects. Affairs reached the climax when the Raja's sister Devammaji and her husband fearing assassination at the hands of the Raja sought protection of the Resident of Mysore. It does not seem unreasonable that she fled to the Company's territory, in order to draw the attention of the Company to her claims to the sovereignty of Coorg. It may be that she might have concocted all the stories of the cruelties of her brother in order to gain her own end. But the Resident and the Company not only took her and her husband under their protection, but they wanted to coerce the Raja. The Raja as an independent sovereign resented this interference. He was irritated beyond measure and it is alleged that he indulged in mad schemes. If he did so, his conduct was not unjustifiable. Perhaps, the authorities were seeking for a pretext to annihilate the sovereignty of Coorg and so provoked the Raja to take those measures which were necessary to maintain his dignity and safety.

This was just what the authorities were longing for. War was declared against the Raja. An expedition under British officers was sent to his territory. The Raja never meant war and so it was not difficult for the British force to occupy his

country. Even the Revd. Dr. Mœgling is forced to say that

"the Rajah, incited partly by the hope.....that a reconciliation was yet possible, partly by the fear, that he might lose all, if matters went to extremities, sent orders prohibiting the Coorgs from encountering the troops of the Company. To this vacillation of the Rajah, the several divisions of the British expedition, then marching into Coorg, were more indebted for their success and even safety, than to the skill and talents of their commanders."

The Raja submitted. He was dethroned and sent a captive to Benares. Had Lord Bentinck been an honest man, here an opportunity presented itself to investigate the claims of the princess to the throne of Coorg. He did nothing of the sort, but on the contrary annexed the province on the ostensible plea that the people of Coorg unanimously desired to be placed under the protection of the East India Company! We know the significance of this diplomatic declaration.†

The following Proclamation was issued to annihilate the national existence of Coorg.

"Whereas it is the unanimous wish of the inhabitants of Coorg to be taken under the protection of the British Government, His Excellency the Right Honourable the Governor General has been pleased to resolve, that the territory heretofore governed by Virarajendra Vodeya shall be transferred to the Honorable Company. The inhabitants are hereby assured that they shall not again be subjected to native rule, that their civil and religious usages will be respected, and that the greatest desire will invariably be shown by the British Government to augment their security, comfort and happiness."

Mr. Bowring writes :—

"the province being one of the very few British possessions in India which has become such not by conquest, but by the free consent of the population. Perhaps owing to this fact, the government to which

* Ibid, p. 199.

† Thornton as an apologist for the annexation of Coorg writes :—

"The annexation of the conquered territory to the British dominions is not, on the first view, so clearly justifiable, but a very few words of explanation will shew that, in this instance also, the right course was taken. The Rajah was childless [this is not true, as one of the Raja's daughters was married to an English gentleman], and he had taken effectual measures to cut off all pretensions to the succession not derived from himself. The vacant throne was without a claimant, and the power which had occupied the country was called upon to provide in some manner for the administration of the government. A stranger might have been placed on the musnud; but there was no reason for the exercise of such self-denial on the part of the British Government, more especially as the people manifested a strong desire to become British subjects. The existence of such a desire removed every pretension for hesitation, * * * (Vol. V., pp. 214-215).

they announced their adhesion in 1834, has, not without good reason, shown them constant indulgence, and an exceptional deference towards their feelings and prejudices. For instance, the slaughter of cattle in Coorg is, and is likely to remain, forbidden, so long as the people deprecate it, nor would it be prudent or just to ignore their feelings on the subject, in the face of a distinct promise given to them by Colonel Fraser at the time of annexation."*

It is admitted that Coorg is not a conquered province. Its inhabitants are not then bondsmen of England. But do they enjoy all the rights and privileges of free citizens?

It was solemnly proclaimed that the civil usages of the inhabitants of Coorg would be respected. But this solemn proclamation was violated by the English when cash payment was demanded for land assessment. The Revd. Dr. Mægling writes :

"Under the Rajas, the assessment had been paid in kind. The Collector of Mangalore, now demanded cash payment : this was considered a grievance, as the farmers were laid under tribute by the money changers."

There was an insurrection which was put down with a high hand.

This was how the civil usages of the inhabitants of Coorg were respected !

Lord Bentinck should be held responsible for the ill-treatment that the Ex-Raja received at the hands of the E. I. Company and to obtain redress for which he went personally to England. The wrongs of the Raja need not be dilated on here.

Coorg was annexed because it was considered fit for colonisation by English settlers. The number of Englishmen who have settled in Coorg as coffee-planters is a very large one, as may be judged from the fact of its being the largest coffee producing province in India. According to the Agricultural Statistics for 1904-5, Coorg has an area of 48,142 acres of land under coffee cultivation. Mr. Bowring wrote :

"If the progress of enlightenment among the Coorgs has been slower than could be desired, their material progress has been remarkable. This is mainly owing to the extensive operations of the coffee-planters, who ** began to colonise the country, the splendid forests in which promised a rich reward to the enterprising settler....."

"From the time when Europeans began to settle in the district to plant coffee, the forests, with which the country was covered, began to acquire a new value. But, at first, any applicant received permission to commence operations in woods not claimed by private individuals, or regarded as sacred forests. Very little trouble was taken about securing proper grants, permission to cultivate coffee on payment of the Government excise being deemed sufficient."

* Loc. Cit. p. 247.

After this need one wonder why the inhabitants of Coorg *unanimously* desired to place themselves under the protection of the English !*

It is true that excepting Coorg no other province of India was annexed to the British dominion by Lord Bentinck. But the policy which his Lordship pursued in the Political or Foreign Department was such as paved the way to the annexation of the States of several independent or feudatory princes of Hindustan and bringing them under the direct administration of the East India Company. The manner in which he treated those princes was not calculated to make the relations between them and the English pleasant.

Take the case of Oude. Lord Bentinck meddled unnecessarily with the internal politics of this Kingdom. His visit to Oude in 1831 did not forebode good for that Kingdom. In his report of 11th July, 1831, he wrote :

"I thought it right to declare to his Majesty beforehand, that the opinion I should offer to the home authorities would be, that unless a decided reform in the administration should take place, there would be no remedy left except in the direct assumption of the management of the Oude territories by the British Government."

It is a well known fact that this minute of Lord Bentinck strengthened the hands of Lord Dalhousie, and the Directors of the East India Company who were bent upon annexing Oude.

The King of Oude was alarmed by the hostile attitude which Bentinck assumed towards him. He intended the dispatch of an embassy to England to represent his case to the authorities. But how this was frustrated by Bentinck is not so well known as it ought to be. A correspondent under the pseudonym of "Veritas" wrote to the *Indian Examiner and Universal Review* for April 1847 :

"Some ten or twelve years ago, it was generally believed, and publicly spoken of in the *Calcutta*

* The deposed Raja of Coorg went (in 1852) to England to represent his case to the authorities there, and to obtain redress, if possible, for the wrongs inflicted on him. He took with him his only daughter, who was converted to Christianity and married to an English gentleman there. It is needless to say that no heed was paid to his representations. That lord of the Pen, Lord Dalhousie, insulted him. The Raja's case was put before the British public in a pamphlet published in 1857 by John Bumpus, 158, Oxford Street, London, and written by an officer formerly in the service of His Highness Veer Rajunder Waddeer, Rajah of Coorg.

Journals, that the East India Company would depose the then reigning sovereign of Oudh, take his rich country and treasury, in which he had enormous wealth, to themselves, and pension the king, as they had many other native princes of India whose possessions they coveted. The king, greatly alarmed at the prospect of losing his kingdom, and becoming a pensioner of the East India Company, resolved on sending an embassy to England, in order to create a sympathy in the British people, and avert, if possible, the wrongs likely to be done him.

"Having come to this resolution, his Majesty selected for the embassy Colonel du Bois, an intelligent, talented gentleman, who then held a post of honor in the king's service. A native gentleman, from the Court of Oudh, was also to accompany Colonel du Bois as joint representative of his Majesty,..... while these matters were progressing, the supreme Government of India became alarmed at the probable results of the mission,.....determined at once to frustrate the king's intentions, and to ruin the embassy immediately. A plot was accordingly laid for this purpose, in which a lady,.....took an active part, and deprived it of all its power. Charges of conspiracy against the East India Company's Government were brought forward against Colonel du Bois, as the embassy was on the eve of departure for England..... Everything was carried on in secret against him, and before the matter was brought to a conclusion the ship sailed, and the embassy proceeded, in opposition to the Government,.....The Government arbitrarily compelled the King of Oudh to dismiss his faithful servant, Colonel du Bois, on these absurd charges, brought forward for the express purpose of frustrating the King's intentions,..... Colonel du Bois, though aware, previous to quitting India, that he was charged with conspiracy against the East India Company, yet conscious of his own innocence, never supposed that he would be injured by it. What, then, must have been his horror and astonishment, on receiving his dismissal, which had been wrung from the King, his master, by the supreme Government of Bengal, and sent after him, in breathless haste, and without a moment's delay.On Colonel du Bois being dismissed from the embassy, they had nothing to fear from the native gentleman, who was left in a helpless condition, friendless, and in a strange country, where he knew not a word of the language, consequently not in a position to gain many in his favour; and, after suffering great anxiety of mind,.....he became depressed in spirits, ill in health, and ultimately died at Poonah, on his way back to his sovereign, at Lucknow..... Colonel du Bois, finding he could obtain no redress from the East India Company, eventually sent his wife Madame du Bois to Calcutta, to seek an interview with Lord William Bentinck, and to implore him to redress his grievances; but the Governor-General was inexorable, for he had himself concocted the plot, for the benefit of his masters.....After this piece of injustice from the East India Company, Colonel du Bois retired to France, and would have held a post of high honour in his native land; but Lord William Bentinck had returned from India, and was then in France, and in addition to the signal service he had done him with the King of Oudh, now prevented the King of the French from conferring this post of honour on him, by representing that Colonel du Bois had entered into a conspiracy, against the East India Company's Government, though he knew at the same time, that it was one of the foulest plots ever concocted to ruin the charac-

ter of an honourable man, and to pervert the course of justice,....."—*The Indian Examiner and Universal Review*, April, 1847, pp. 178-187.

In this connection must also be mentioned the opposition of Lord Bentinck to the embassy of the King of Delhi to England. The celebrated Hindoo reformer, Ram Mohun Roy, was selected by the King to represent his grievances to the authorities in England. As Ram Mohun Roy was his ambassador, the title of Raja was conferred on him to exalt his dignity. Lord Bentinck was much enraged at the proceedings of the King. To mark his displeasure with the conduct of His Majesty—whose vassal the East India Company, of which he was the representative, was, he did not see the King when he passed by Delhi. This act of positive discourtesy, if not disloyalty, of Lord Bentinck must have rankled in the breast of the King and of his relatives and loyal subjects and was probably one of the contributing causes of the Indian Mutiny of 1857.

Perhaps the fact is not so well known as it deserves to be that Lord Bentinck was the author of a plot which had for its object the extinction of the Mahratta Principality of Gwalior. Writes Mr. John Hope, a former Superintending Surgeon of Scindia's Contingent, and Surgeon to the Court of Gwalior, in his brochure "The House of Scindia, a Sketch," published in 1863 by Messrs. Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts and Green.

"But if these dangers surrounded him [Maharaja Janko Scindea] in his capital, he was threatened with no less danger from the council of Calcutta. Secret deliberations were there being held, with a view to discover what profit could be made out of the troubles of this weak but most faithful young prince,A demi-official letter was written to the Resident, by the Chief Secretary of the Foreign Department, desiring him to learn, at a private interview, by way of a feeler, if the Maharajah, encircled as he was by serious troubles—troubles mainly caused by our government—would like to resign; assigning over the country to the British Government, and receiving a handsome pension, which would be paid out of his own revenues. There can be very little doubt that this demi-official document was of the genus *mystic*, and that no copy of it can now be found among the archives pertaining to India. Mr. Cavendish, than whom no Englishman ever attained a greater ascendancy over the minds of the natives with whom he had concern, declined to make such a suggestion, and his answer threw a damp upon the hopes of the annexationists..... The government officials were of course extremely angry. The press, almost entirely supported by the civil and military services which are immensely benefited by annexation, was very abusive. Presently another demi-official

letter arrived : this time from the Deputy Secretary of the Foreign department—a 'mystic' one we may be quite sure—strongly expostulating with Mr. Cavendish upon his proceedings, and concluding with this significant remark :—'You have thus allowed a favourable chance to escape of connecting the Agra to the Bombay Presidency.' Of course the Resident's doom was fixed, though not just then declared. A few months afterwards, the Governor-General gratified his feelings of resentment by removing Mr. Cavendish to another native court.....

'Lest it should be thought by any one.....that in this little sketch of his (Lord William Bentinck's) foreign policy, we have given even the slightest touch of colouring, we will relate, by way of illustration, an amusing anecdote, which is known to three or four persons now living, and which sufficiently confirms our statement that, in respect of the rights of native states, his lordship entirely overlooked the tenth commandment. It happened that Major Sutherland was selected to fill the office vacated by Mr. Cavendish..... He therefore waited on the Governor-General in Calcutta, to learn what the policy was to be at Gwalior ;—was it to be intervention or non-intervention ? Lord Bentinck, whose disposition, like that of Lord Palmerston, loved a joke, quickly replied : 'Look here, Major,' and his lordship threw back his head, opened wide his mouth, and placed his thumb and finger together like a boy about to swallow a sugar-plum. Then, turning to the astonished Major he said : 'If the Gwalior State will fall down your throat, you are not to shut your mouth, as Mr. Cavendish did, but swallow it ; that is my policy.'.....To 'the traditional old Indians,' the objects of so much scorn in these days, this doctrine smacks of petty larceny. Imagine a magistrate of Bow Street to say to some smart-looking man, with a cloak hanging on his arm for a purpose, 'Don't prowl about the theatres at night, picking pockets, for that is larceny ; but if you see a person drop his purse, keep it ; a traditional old beak would call this petty larceny, but I tell you it is all right !' In a moral point of view, we think the two cases exactly parallel."

The Afghanistan imbroglio and disasters of 1839-1842, the subsequent unjustifiable wars in Sind and Punjab and also the annexation of those two provinces were in no small measure due to the part which Lord Bentinck played in the scheme which was euphoniously called the navigation of the Indus.*

* It was Moorcroft who first suggested the navigation of the Indus. Captain Cunningham, in his History of the Sikhs, writes :—

"The traveller Moorcroft had been impressed with the use which might be made of the Indus as a channel of British commerce, and the scheme of navigating that river and its tributaries was eagerly adopted by the Indian Government, and by the advocates of material utilitarianism. One object of sending King William's presents for Runjeet Singh by water, was to ascertain, as if undesignedly, the trading value of the classical stream, and the result of Lieutenant Burnes' observations convinced Lord William Bentinck of its superiority over the Ganges. There seemed also, in his Lordship's opinion, good reason to believe that the Great Western Valley had

The real author of this scheme was Sir John Malcolm. Its genesis was the "Memoranda on the North-Western Frontier of British India, and on the importance of the River Indus, as connected with its defence, drawn up by desire of Sir John Malcolm." This document was considered by the authorities of the East India Company, as well as by Lord Bentinck. Some extracts from this State document which was pregnant with such momentous consequences are given below :

"Should ever an enemy appear on our N.-W. Frontier, the possession of Sind will become a point of the utmost importance to British interests in India, as *commanding the navigation of the Indus* ; a position, in case of such an event occurring, of vital consequence to the defence of the country. A perfectly unrestricted communication on this river, can never be expected to be conceded us by the Court of Hyderabad.....The possession of Hyderabad may consequently become the object of the British Government—that effected, it is presumed, that very efficient measures might be taken to secure the free passage of the Indus. The execution would not appear to present any serious difficulties—the routes upon Hyderabad (as will be shewn) are very practicable ; the fortifications of that Capital are insignificant ; "The Seik" is the only foreign adjacent power—from the organization of his Government, the disposability of his force, and his political discrimination, whose jealousy of our encroachment we need fear, or propitiate ; and the disjointed texture of the Scindian Force and Government, while it prevented union in those who opposed us, would afford us ample means of coercing any refractory chiefs, and of converting many into grateful allies, by substituting a liberal and beneficent rule, for the grinding tyranny of the Ameers."

Of course, the annexation of Sind was plainly hinted at in the above document.

Lord Bentinck played the part of Machiavelli in the Navigation of the Indus Affair. Sir Charles Metcalfe as a member of the Council of Lord Bentinck raised his voice of protest against this measure.

In a minute dated October 1830, Metcalfe condemned the contemplated Survey of the Indus. He wrote :

"The scheme of surveying the Indus, under the pretence of sending a present to Rajah Runjeet Singh, seems to me highly objectionable.

"It is a trick, in my opinion, unworthy of our Government, which cannot fail when detected, as

at one time been as populous as that of the East, and it was thought that the judicious exercise of the paramount influence of the British Government, might remove those political obstacles which had banished commerce from the rivers of Alexander. It was therefore resolved, in the current language of the day, to open the Indus to the navigation of the world."

most probably it will be, to excite the jealousy and indignation of the powers on whom we play it.

"It is just such a trick as we are often falsely suspected and accused of by the native powers of India, and this confirmation of their suspicions, generally unjust, will do us more injury by furnishing the ground of merited reproach, than any advantage to be gained by the measure can compensate.....

"It must be remembered that the survey of the Indus or any part of the Sind country may give us the power to injure that State, may even assist us in conquering it, and in the course of events, is as likely to be turned to use for that purpose as for any other. The rulers of Sind, therefore, have the same right to be jealous of our surveys of their river and their territories that any power of Europe has to protect its fortresses from the inspection of foreign engineers.

"It is stated in a late despatch from the Secret Committee that we must not permit the rulers of Sind to obstruct our measures; in other words, that we are to go to war with them to compel submission to our wishes. With deference I should remark that such an assumption does not seem to be warranted by the law of nations.....But the assumption is an exemplification of what I have often observed in our conduct towards the Native States, and what appears to me the greatest blot in the character of our Indian policy, although I am not aware that it has attracted any general notice in England. However much we may profess moderation and non-interference when we have no particular interest of our own concerned, the moment we discover any object of pursuit we become impatient and over-bearing, insist on what we require, and cannot brook denial or hesitation. We disregard the rights of others, and think only of our own convenience. Submission or war is the alternative which the other party has to choose.

"Thus at the present time, because we have taken alarm at the supposed designs of Russia, it would seem that we are to compel intermediate States to enter into our views or submit to our projects, although they cannot comprehend them, and instead of entertaining any apprehension of Russian designs, are more apprehensive of our own, our character for encroachment being worse than that of the Russians, because the States concerned have a more proximate sense of it from the result which they see in actual operation among the realms of India.....

"Among other uncertainties of this great question, is that of what our own conduct ought to be when the expected crisis shall arise. Whether we should meet the enemy half-way and fight the battle in foreign countries—whether we should defend the passage of the Indus and make our stand there, or await the foe on our own frontier, and force on him all the labor, and loss, and risk of coming the whole distance before we attack him—must depend so much on the disposition of intermediate countries, and other circumstances of the time, that it seems utterly vain to determine even our own course at this remote distance from the event.....

"If, therefore, I were asked what is best to be done with a view to a Russian invasion, I should say that it is best to do nothing until time shall show us what we ought to do, because there is nothing that we can do in our present blind state that would be of any certain benefit on the approach of that event.

"The only thing certain is, that we ought not to want only to offend intermediate States by acts

calculated to arouse hostile feelings against us, but ought rather to cultivate a friendly disposition.....

"No rulers have ever shown their jealousy of us more decidedly than the Ameers of Sind, which feeling we are about to stimulate afresh by an act which will justify its past existence, and perpetuate its continuance.

"If the information wanted is indispensable, and cannot be obtained by fair and open means, it ought, I conceive, to be sought by the usual mode of sending unacknowledged emissaries, and not by a deceitful application for a passage under the fictitious presence of one purpose, when the real object is another, which we know would not be sanctioned."

In a minute dated June 2, 1833, Metcalfe wrote:—

"It does not appear to me that the establishment of a British agent at Caubul is requisite or desirable in any point of view.

"The professed object of the proposal is the improvement of commerce. I believe that commerce will take care of itself best without our direct interference in the form of a Commercial Agency; and, if we sought to remove existing obstacles, our efforts would be more needed elsewhere than at Caubul, where the trade with India already receives every possible encouragement.

"A commercial agent would unavoidably become, from the time of his creation, a political agent. To the extension of our political relations beyond the Indus there appears to me to be great objections. From such a course I should expect the probable occurrence of embarrassments and wars, expensive and unprofitable at the least, without any equivalent benefit, if not ruinous and destructive.

"The appointment of an agent at Caubul would of itself almost amount to an interference in the political affairs of Afghanistan.....

"As a commercial measure, I consider the one proposed to be unnecessary; as a political one, undesirable; and therefore, on the whole objectionable."†

Kaye writes that

"The survey of the Indus and the Commercial Agency at Caubul were the *prolegomena*, so to speak, of the great epic of the Afghan War; and Metcalfe, in his correspondence both with Lord William Bentinck and Lord Auckland, argued and protested, with equal sagacity and earnestness, against measures which could hardly fail to entangle us in such a manner with the Trans-Indian States as eventually to evolve a great and calamitous war. He left India at a most unfortunate conjuncture. His services were never so much needed as at the time of his departure."‡

Metcalfe wrote:

"We could not long exist in a state of adequate preparation, as we should be utterly ruined by the expense."§

The navigation of the Indus was

* Kaye's Selections from the Writings of Lord Metcalfe, pp. 211-217.

† P. 218. Kaye's Selections from the Writings of Lord Metcalfe.

‡ *Ibid*, p. 219.

§ *Ibid*, p. 199.

ostensibly undertaken for the purpose of presenting a coach and horses to Maharaja Runjeet Singh. Writes Prinsep:

"It was resolved to make the transmission of this present, a means of obtaining information in regard to the Indus, and the facilities, or the contrary, it might offer to navigation.....The dray horses were accordingly sent out to Bombay, and the Supreme Government instructed Sir John Malcolm, the Governor of that presidency, to take measures to have them forwarded under charge of an intelligent and prudent officer, in boats up the Indus. Some demur was anticipated on the part of the rulers of Sindh to allowing them passage through the Delta and lower part of the river, but it was assumed that the governing Mirs, situated as they were relatively to Runjeet Singh on the one hand, and the British Government on the other, would not readily incur the risk of offending both powers, by refusing a passage altogether, if it were insisted upon." (Origin of the Sikh Power in the Punjab and Political Life of Maharaja Runjeet Singh, Chapter X)

But Lord Bentineck had his designs on the provinces of the Punjab and Sind and so he paid no heed to the warning voice of Metcalfe.

It was because he had his eye on Sind, that he stood in the way of Maharaja Runjeet Singh's attempt in adding that province to his dominions. The treaty which was concluded with Runjeet Singh by the Government of India in 1809 expressly stipulated that that sovereign was not to be hampered in his operations on any country beyond the Sutlej. So Lord Bentineck violated the Treaty when he forbade Runjeet Singh from acquiring Sind.*

The meeting at Roopur, of Bentineck with Runjeet Singh, was a covert attempt to spy out the military strength of Runjeet Singh. Runjeet Singh threw all precautions away and did not hesitate to meet Lord Bentineck at Roopur. On a previous occasion when he had sent presents to Lord Amherst at Simla, the British Commander-in-Chief, Lord Combermere, who passed the warm season at Simla in 1828, desired to procure an invitation in person to Lahore, but then Runjeet Singh evaded compliance with this wish.† But the Sikh Sovereign, addicted to hard drink and debauchery,

* Captain Cunningham in the seventh chapter of his History of the Sikhs, has dwelt at great length on this subject. One of the causes which provoked the Sikh War was the fact that the English to possess Sind themselves had, during the Governor-Generalship of Lord Bentineck, made use of every stratagem, artifice and excuse to frustrate Runjeet Singh from acquiring, or extending his power over, Sind.

† Prinsep's Runjeet Singh, 9th Chapter.

was losing his strong common sense for which he was noted and being easily seduced by the presents received from Bentineck, unhesitatingly acceded to the latter's wish and met him with all the pageantry of the East at Roopur.

It is said that Bentineck was not very favorably impressed with that Sikh sovereign and hence the contemptuous manner with which he treated him and the conspiracy laid during his regime of subverting that Sikh Raj. Of this conspiracy, we read in the evidence of Captain Macan before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of the East India Company on 22nd March, 1832:—

"1446. An idea has been broached that great additional security would result to our Eastern empire from the extension of our frontier to the Indus; is that a subject you have considered?—Yes, I have frequently considered it.

"1447. What is the result of your opinion?—I have heard many military men say that the Indus was our natural boundary in India: but it has been proved by late and former wars, that a river like the Indus is little or no obstruction to a well-organised invading army, and if we are to have a defensible boundary on that side, we should do more than stop at the Indus, we should push our posts into the hills, fastnesses and passes which are beyond that river; but I hold that the conquest of the Punjab (which is the country between the Indus and the Sutlej, upon which latter river our frontier posts are now stationed) would be highly impolitic and unjust. We already possess more territory than we seem capable of governing well. The chief of that state has been on amicable terms with us since the treaty made with him in 1808, the cause of that treaty was an attempt on his part to conquer the Seik Chiefs east of the Sutlej, and the purport of it (which has been faithfully observed by both parties since that period) was, that he should not interfere east of that river, nor we to the west of it. The consequence has been, that he has gradually extended his conquests over the whole of Cashmere, Mooltan, and latterly Peshawar; his territory is extensive, populous and fertile; his army numerous and efficient, perhaps the best native army in India, with the exception of the British. Again, it would be impolitic to extend our frontier in that quarter, as it would bring us in direct collision with the Afghans, one of the bravest, most bigoted, and fanatical of all the Mahomedan tribes. Now, it is well known that the Seiks are neither Mahomedans nor Hindoos, but admit converts of both, though their religion has infinitely more of the Hindoo in it than the Mahomedan; they are therefore a powerful barrier between us and those fanatical tribes, with whom if we were to come in collision, it would unquestionably have a dangerous influence on the religious prejudices of our Mahomedan subjects and troops."

Of this conspiracy we read in Baron Hugel's Travels (p. 334),

"Several articles had appeared of late in the newspapers of Hindustan and of Calcutta, which went to

show that the English must of necessity soon march to the Indus, and make that river the Western boundary of British India, and I fancied that Runjeet Singh had thought a good deal of these articles."

Lord Bentinck did nothing to allay the alarm into which Runjeet Singh was thrown by all these writings in the Calcutta papers, which were of course all inspired by the Governor-General or his subordinates in office. It was the policy of the Company of which Bentinck was the representative not to make any alliance with Runjeet Singh, for Baron Hugel wrote :—

"A treaty offensive and defensive with the British Government, having a guarantee for the integrity of his possessions, was the only thing that could ensure the dominion of Ranjit Singh. But this would have prevented England from taking immediate advantage of any sudden occurrence which might fall out." (P. 409.)

Such was the foreign policy then of Lord Bentinck. He annexed Coorg; he interfered needlessly with the affairs of the kingdom of Oude and his Minute on Oude was made use of by those who favored the extinction of that kingdom. He unnecessarily humiliated and insulted the king of Delhi. He tried his best to exterminate the independent existence of the Mahratta State of Gwalior. He approved of and countenanced, for he made no protest against, the navigation of the Indus, which laid the foundation of all the troubles in Afghanistan, Punjab and Sind.

In the face of the above-mentioned facts, it is travesty of truth to say that Lord Bentinck was a peace-loving, honest and straightforward man in his dealings with the Native Powers of Hindoostan.

In addition to his post of Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck was also Commander-in-Chief in India. The *Meerut Universal Magazine* for 1835, in reviewing his career in the latter capacity, wrote as follows :—

"A more unfit person for a Commander-in-Chief than Lord William Bentinck it would have been difficult for any Ministry to pitch upon, nor does it reflect credit upon the Court of Directors, the Board of Control, or his Majesty's Government, that for the sake of effecting a saving of some six or seven thousand pounds a year, the welfare and discipline of an Army,....should have been risked, or their interests sacrificed....."

"The first acts of Lord William Bentinck on assuming the command of the Army were taken with a view to reflect disgrace on the rule of his predecessor—and in pursuance of this system all descriptions of complaints were not only received but fostered at headquarters, squabbles long set at rest were

carefully raked from their ashes—nourished into representation, enquiries and courts martial, and the curious observer will find, that a large majority of the causes submitted to the decision of the military tribunals, were manufactured out of disputes that occurred in the time of Sir Edward Barnes.....His Lordship loved to live in an atmosphere of complaints, and so long as he received a due quantity, considered that the Army must be progressing to a state of improvement,....."

"With a man so singularly lauded for benevolence and humanity as Lord William Bentinck was, it is extraordinary how many acts we find that would lead the casual observer to a belief, that his Lordship was swayed by a selfish disregard of every one but himself or his immediate parasites :....."

"Lord William is very fond of Rupees—Lord William loves the Rupees."

In the administration of domestic affairs, Lord Bentinck did little to promote the interests of the natives of India. Indeed some of his measures were best calculated to make the natives miserable and keep them in subjection. Before his time, the executive and judicial functions were not combined in the same individual. But he combined them. That this measure has been a great curse to the people of Hindustan is evident from the fact that the Indian National Congress from its very birth has been praying for the separation of judicial and executive functions—a request which that astute Irish Viceroy Lord Dufferin pronounced to be "a counsel of perfection."

His great aim in the administration of India was to anglicise and denationalise the natives of India. He did not conceal it; because he came to believe that the anglicisation of India would be of material advantage to England. With this object, among others, in view, he tried his best to introduce English as the court language in India. (*Vide* passages quoted from blue books in the *Modern Review* for February, 1910, pp. 177-179.)

Knowing the views and opinions of Bentinck, Macaulay also did not hesitate to side with the Anglicists and wrote that minute which made English the medium of instruction in India. That minute considerably retarded the growth of the vernaculars of India.

Lord Bentinck did all that lay in his power to give impetus to the settlement and colonization in India of his co-religionists and compatriots. The free resort of his countrymen to India would lead to the anglicisation of the natives, which would be advantageous to England.

He is considered to be a great philan-

thropist because he passed that act which prevented the immolation of widows known as *Suttee*. Of course it was the right thing to do. But the ground had been paved as it were for him by the writings of Raja Ram Mohun Roy. If the credit is mainly due to anybody for the abolition of *Suttee*, it is to Ram Mohun Roy.* Bentinck was obliged to him, for it was not Bentinck but Ram Mohun Roy who was the object of obloquy and the target for ridicule and attack of the Hindus, for they knew that without the powerful aid of Ram Mohun, Bentinck would not and could not have ventured to enact the abolition of *Suttee*. But such was the sense of gratitude possessed by Bentinck that he put obstacles in the way of Ram Mohun Roy's proceeding to England as ambassador of the King of Delhi and did not recognise the title of Raja which the Moghul King had honoured him with.

It is said that Bentinck was a friend of the natives, because he recognised their claims to the more extensive employments in the service of the State and for the posts of Deputy Collectors created during his regime. It was not from any philanthropic considerations that the natives were more widely employed. It was financial necessity which obliged the authorities to resort to native agency;—the same necessity which led to the curtailment of the *batta* of the civil and military officers and which made Bentinck so unpopular with his countrymen in India.

* Lieutenant A. White, a contemporary of Ram Mohun Roy, writes in his "Considerations on the State of British India," pp. 60-61:—

"This enlightened Hindoo Ram Mohun has rendered a signal service to his countrymen in exposing the cruelty and injustice of the practice which condemns a widow to sacrifice herself on the funeral pile of her husband; ..."

By right, all the appointments in the public services of India belong to the natives because they are the children of the soil and also the taxpayers. Even if Bentinck employed them more extensively, we do not see any reason why he should be thanked or considered a philanthropist for merely meeting out a little justice to them.*

It should be remembered that Bentinck was no advocate of high education in India. This will be gathered from the following from the Minute of Sir Charles Metcalfe, dated the 16th May, 1835:—

"His Lordship (Bentinck), however, sees further danger in the spread of knowledge and the operations of the Press. I do not, for my own part, anticipate danger as a certain consequence from these causes."

That Bentinck's seven years' rule from 1828-1835 was on the whole beneficial to the natives of the country is a myth. His foreign policy was aggressive and his domestic policy was destructive of the best interests of the children of the soil. It has been good for both England and India that the East India Company's attitude towards the Indian States was not persisted in after the Sepoy War.

M.

* Prof. H. H. Wilson, in his continuation of Mill's History of British India in a footnote in Book III, Chapter VI, writes:—

"Regulation V., 1831. The credit of this enactment has sometimes been given exclusively to Lord W. Bentinck; but this is an injustice. That his Lordship unreservedly admitted the principle, and zealously carried into practice the employment of respectable natives in the administration of public affairs, is undoubtedly true; but the justice and necessity of the measure had been fully recognised, both in India and England, long before Lord W. Bentinck's appointment; and the provisions of the Regulation here cited were based, as mentioned in the Regulation, upon the Suggestions and Orders of the Court of Directors, prior to the arrival in India of the actual Governor-General."

AT HOME AND OUTSIDE

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

CHAPTER VIII. NIKHIL'S STORY.

9.

PARAGRAPHS and letters against me have begun to come out in the local papers; cartoons and lampoons are to follow, I am told. Jets of wit and

humour are being splashed about, and the lies thus scattered are convulsing the whole country. They know that the monopoly of mud-throwing is theirs, and the innocent passer-by cannot escape unsoiled.

They are saying that the residents in my estates, from the highest to the lowest,

are in favour of *Swadeshi*, but they dare not declare themselves, for fear of me. The few who have been brave enough to defy me have felt the full rigour of my persecution. I am in secret league with the police, and in private communication with the magistrate; and these frantic efforts of mine to add a foreign title of my own earning to the one I have inherited, will not, it is opined, go in vain.

On the other hand, the papers are full of praise for those devoted sons of the motherland, the Kundu and the Chakravarti *zamindars*. If only, say they, the country had a few more of such staunch patriots, the mills of Manchester would have had to sound their own dirge to the tune of *Bande Mataram*.

Then comes a letter in blood-red ink, giving me a list of the traitorous *zamindars* whose treasuries have been burnt down because of their failing to support the Cause. Holy Fire, it goes on to say, has been aroused to its sacred function of purifying the country; and other agencies are also at work to see that those who are not true sons of the motherland do cease to encumber her lap. The signature is an obvious *nom-de-plume*.

I could see that this was the doing of our local students. So I sent for some of them and showed them the letter.

The B. A. student gravely informed me that they also had heard that a band of desperate patriots had been formed who would stick at nothing in order to clear away all obstacles to the success of *Swadeshi*.

"If," said I, "even one of our countrymen succumbs to these overbearing desperados, that will indeed be a defeat for the country!"

"We fail to follow you, Maharaja," said the history student.

"Our country," I tried to explain, "has been brought to death's door through sheer fear, from fear of the gods down to fear of the police; and if you set up, in the name of freedom, the fear of some other bogey, whatever it may be called; if you would raise your victorious standard on the cowardice of the country by means of downright oppression; then no true lover of the country can bow to your decision."

"Is there any country, Sir," pursued the history student, "where submission to government is not due to fear?"

"The freedom that exists in any coun-

try," I replied, "may be measured by the extent of this reign of fear. Where its threat is confined to those who would hurt or plunder, there the government may claim to have freed man from the violence of man. But if fear is to regulate how people are to dress, where they shall trade, or what they must eat, then is man's freedom of will utterly ignored, and manhood destroyed at the root."

"Is not such coercion of the individual will seen in other countries too?" continued the history student.

"Who denies it?" I exclaimed. "But in every country man has destroyed himself to the extent he has permitted slavery to flourish."

"Does not this rather show," interposed a Master of Arts, "that trading in slavery is inherent in man—a fundamental fact of his nature?"

"Sandip Babu made the whole thing clear," said a graduate. "He gave us the example of Harish Kundu, your neighbouring *zamindar*. From his estates you cannot ferret out a single ounce of foreign salt. Why? Because he has always ruled with an iron hand. In the case of those who are slaves by nature, the lack of a strong master is the greatest of all calamities."

"Why, Sir!" chimed in an undergraduate, "have you not heard of the obstreperous tenant of Chakravarti, the other *zamindar* close by,—how the law was set on him till he was reduced to utter destitution? When at last he was left with nothing to eat, he started out to sell his wife's silver ornaments, but no one dared buy them. Then Chakravarti's manager offered him five rupees for the lot. They were worth over thirty, but he had to accept or starve. After taking over the bundle from him, the manager coolly said that those five rupees would be credited towards his rent! We felt like having nothing more to do with Chakravarti or his manager after that, but Sandip Babu told us that if we threw over all the live people, we should have only dead bodies from the burning-grounds to carry on the work with! These live men, he pointed out, know what they want and how to get it,—they are born rulers. Those who do not know how to desire for themselves, must live in accordance with, or die by virtue of, the desires of such as these. Sandip Babu contrasted them,—Kundu and Chakravarti,—with you,

Maharaja. You, he said, for all your good intentions, will never succeed in planting *Swadeshi* within your territory."

"It is my desire," I said, "to plant something greater than *Swadeshi*. I am not after dead logs but living trees, —and these will take time to grow."

"I am afraid, Sir," sneered the history student, "that you will get neither log nor tree. Sandip Babu rightly teaches that in order to get, you must snatch. This is taking all of us some time to learn, because it runs counter to what we were taught at school. I have seen with my own eyes that when a rent-collector of Harish Kundu's found one of the tenants with nothing which could be sold up to pay his rent, he was made to sell his young wife! Buyers were not wanting, and the *zamindar's* demand was satisfied. I tell you, Sir, the sight of that man's distress prevented my getting sleep for nights together! But, feel it as I did, this much I realised, that the man who knows how to get the money he is out for, even by selling up his debtor's wife, is a better man than I am. I confess it is beyond me, —I am a weakling, my eyes fill with tears. If anybody can save our country it is these Kundus and these Chakravartis and their officials!"

I was shocked beyond words. "If what you say be true," I cried, "I clearly see that it must be the one endeavour of my life to save the country from these same Kundus and Chakravartis and officials. The slavery that has entered into our very bones is breaking out, at this opportunity, as ghastly tyranny. You have been so habituated to submit to domination through fear, you have come to believe that to make others submit is a kind of religion. My fight shall be against this weakness, this atrocious cruelty!"

These things which are so simple to ordinary folk, get so twisted in the minds of our B.A.s, and M.A.s, the only purpose of whose historical quibbles seems to be to torture the truth!

10.

I am worried over Panchu's sham aunt. It will be difficult to disprove her, for though witnesses of a real event may be few or even wanting, innumerable proofs of a thing that has not happened can always be marshalled. The object of this move is, evidently, to get the sale of Panchu's holding to me set aside.

Being unable to find any other way out of it, I was thinking of allowing Panchu to hold a permanent tenure in my estates and building him a cottage on it. But my master would not have it. I should not give in to these nefarious tactics so easily, he objected, and offered to attend to the matter himself.

"You, Sir!" I cried, considerably surprised.

"Yes, I," he repeated.

I could not see, very clearly, what my master could do to counteract these legal machinations. That evening, at the time he usually came to me, he did not turn up. On my making inquiries, his servant said he had left home with a few things packed in a small trunk, and some bedding, saying he would be back in a few days. I thought he might have sallied forth to hunt for witnesses in Panchu's uncle's village. In that case, however, I was sure that his would be a hopeless quest. . . .

During the day I forget myself in my work. As the late autumn afternoon wears on, the colours of the sky become turbid, and so do the feelings of my mind. When the gloaming deepens over the world, like the gaze of the dark eyes of the beloved, then my whole being tells me that work alone cannot be the truth of life, that work is not the be-all and the end-all of man, for man is not simply a serf, — what though the serfdom be of the True and the Good. Alas, Nikhil, have you for ever parted company with that self of yours who used to be set free under the starlight, to plunge into the infinite depths of the night's darkness after the day's work was done? How terribly alone is he, who misses companionship in the midst of the multitudinousness of life.

The other day, when the afternoon had reached the meeting point of day and night, I had no work, nor the mind for work, nor was my master there to keep me company. With my empty, drifting heart longing to anchor on to something, I traced my steps towards the inner gardens. I was very fond of chrysanthemums and had rows of them, of all varieties, banked up in pots against one of the garden walls. When they were in flower, it looked like a wave of green breaking into iridescent foam. It was some time since I had been to this part of the grounds, and I was beguiled into a cheerful expectancy at

the thought of meeting my chrysanthemums after our long separation.

As I went in, the full moon had just peeped over the wall, her slanting rays leaving its foot in deep shadow. It seemed as if she had come a-tiptoe from behind, and clasped the darkness over the eyes, smiling mischievously. When I came near the bank of chrysanthemums, I saw a figure stretched on the grass in front. My heart gave a sudden thud. The figure also sat up with a start at my footsteps.

What was to be done next? I was wondering whether it would do to beat a precipitate retreat. Bimala, also, was doubtless casting about for some way of escape. But it was as awkward to go as to stay! Before I could make up my mind, Bimala rose, pulled the end of her *sari* over her head, and walked off towards the inner apartments.

This brief pause had been enough to make real to me the cruel load of Bimala's misery. The plaint of my own life vanished from me in a moment. I called out: "Bimala!"

She started and stayed her steps, but did not turn back. I went round and stood before her. Her face was in the shade, the moon-light fell on mine. Her eyes were downcast, her hands clenched.

"Bimala," said I, "why should I seek to keep you fast in this closed cage of mine? Do I not know that thus you cannot but pine and droop?"

She stood still, without raising her eyes or uttering a word.

"I know," I continued, "that if I insist on keeping you shackled, my whole life will be reduced to nothing but an iron chain. What pleasure can that be to me?"

She was still silent.

"So," I concluded, "I tell you, truly. Bimala, you are free. Whatever I may or may not have been to you, I refuse to be your fetters." With which I came away towards the outer apartments.

No, no, it was not a generous impulse, nor indifference. I had simply come to understand that never would I be free until I could set free. To try to keep Bimala as a garland round my neck, would have meant keeping a weight hanging over my heart. Have I not been praying with all my strength, that if happiness may not be mine, let it go; if grief needs must be my lot, let it come; but let me not be kept in bondage. To clutch hold of that which

is untrue as though it were true, is only to throttle oneself. May I be saved from such self-destruction.

When I entered my room, I found my master waiting there. My agitated feelings were still heaving within me. "Freedom, Sir," I began unceremoniously, without greeting or inquiry, "freedom is the biggest thing for man. Nothing can be compared to it,—nothing at all!"

Surprised at my outburst, my master looked up at me in silence.

"One can understand nothing from books," I went on. "We read in the scriptures that our desires are bonds, fettering us as well as others. But such words, by themselves, are so empty. It is only when we get to the point of letting the bird out of its cage that we can realise how free the bird has set us. This is just what the world has failed to understand. They all seek to reform something outside themselves. But reform is wanted only in one's own desires, nowhere else, nowhere else!"

I was suddenly reminded of my master's absence during the last few days and of my ignorance as to its reason. I felt somewhat foolish as I asked him: "And where have you been all this while, Sir?"

"Staying with Panchu," he replied.

"Indeed!" I exclaimed. "Have you been there all these days?"

"Yes. I wanted to come to an understanding with the woman who calls herself his aunt. She could hardly be induced to believe that there could be such an odd character among the gentle-folk as the one who sought their hospitality. When she found I really meant to stay on, she began to feel rather ashamed of herself. 'Mother,' said I, 'you are not going to get rid of me, even if you abuse me! And so long as I stay, Panchu stays also. For you see, do you not, that I cannot stand by and see his motherless little ones sent out into the streets?'"

"She listened to my talks in this strain for a couple of days without saying yes or no. This morning I found her tying up her bundles. 'We are going back to Brindaban,' she said. 'Let us have our expenses for the journey.' I knew she was not going to Brindaban, and also that the cost of her journey would be substantial. So I have come to you."

"The required cost shall be paid," I said.

"The old woman is not a bad sort," my master went on musingly. "Panchu was not sure of her caste and would not let her touch the water jar, or anything at all of his. So they were continually bickering. When she found I had no objection to her touch, she looked after me devotedly. She is a splendid cook !

"But all remnants of Panchu's respect for me vanished ! To the last he had thought that I was at least a simple sort of person. But here was I, risking my caste without a qualm, to win over the old woman for my purpose. Had I tried to steal a march on her by tutoring witness for the trial, that would have been a different matter. Tactics must be met by tactics. But stratagem at the expense of orthodoxy is more than he can tolerate !

"Anyhow, I must stay on a few days at Panchu's even after the woman leaves, for Harish Kundu may be up to any kind of devilry. He has been telling his satellites, that he was content to have furnished Panchu with an aunt, but I have gone the length of supplying him with a father. He would like to see, now, how many fathers of his can save him !"

"We may or may not be able to save him," I said, "but if we should perish in the attempt to save the country from the thousand and one snares—of religion, custom and selfishness—which these people are busy spreading, we shall at least die happy."

BIMALA'S STORY.

12.

Who could have thought that so much would happen in this one life ? I feel as if I have passed through a whole series of births. Time has been flying so fast, I did not feel it move at all, till the shock came the other day.

I knew there would be words between us when I made up my mind to ask my husband to banish foreign goods from our market. But it was my firm belief that I had no need to meet argument by argument, for there was magic in the very air about me. Had not so tremendous a man as Sandip fallen helplessly at my feet, like a wave of the mighty sea breaking on the shore ? Had I called him ? No, it was the summons of that magic spell of mine. And Amulya, poor dear boy, when he first came to me,—how the current of his life flushed with colour, like

the river at dawn ! Truly have I realised how a goddess feels when she looks upon the radiant face of her devotee.

With the confidence begotten of these proofs of my power, I was ready to meet my husband like a lightning-charged cloud. But what was it that happened ? Never in all these nine years have I seen such a far-away, distraught look in his eyes,—like the desert sky,—with no merciful moisture of its own, no colour reflected, even, from what it looked upon. I should have been so relieved if his anger had flashed out ! But I could find nothing in him which I could touch. I felt as unreal as a dream,—a dream which would leave only the blackness of night when it was over.

In the old days I used to be jealous of my sister-in-law for her beauty. Then I used to feel that Providence had given me no power of my own, that my whole strength lay in the love which my husband had bestowed on me. Now that I had drained to the dregs the cup of power and could not do without its intoxication, I suddenly found it dashed to pieces at my feet, leaving me nothing to live for.

How feverishly I had sat to do my hair that day. Oh shame, shame on me, the utter shame of it ! My sister-in-law, when passing by, had exclaimed : "Aha, Junior Rani ! Your hair seems ready to jump off. Don't let it carry your head with it."

And then, the other day in the garden, how easy my husband found it to tell me that he set me free ! But can freedom—empty freedom—be given and taken so easily as all that ? It is like setting a fish free in the sky,—for how can I move or live outside the atmosphere of loving care which has always sustained me ?

When I came to my room to-day, I saw only furniture—only the bedstead, only the looking-glass, only the clothes-rack—not the all-pervading heart which used to be there, over all. Instead of it there was freedom, only freedom, mere emptiness ! A dried-up watercourse with all its rocks and pebbles laid bare. No feeling, only furniture !

When I had arrived at a state of utter bewilderment, wondering whether anything true was left in my life, and whereabouts it could be, I happened to meet Sandip again. Then life struck against life, and the sparks flew in the same old way. Here was truth—impetuous truth—which

rushed in and overflowed all bounds, truth which was a thousand times truer than the Senior Rani with her maid Thako and her silly songs, and all the rest of them who talked and laughed and wandered about. . . .

"Fifty thousand!" Sandip had demanded.

"What is fifty thousand?" cried my intoxicated heart. "You shall have it!"

How to get it, where to get it, were minor points not worth troubling over. Look at me. Had I not risen, all in one moment, from my nothingness to a height above everything? So shall all things come at my beck and call. I shall get it, get it, get it,—there cannot be any doubt.

Thus had I come away from Sandip the other day. Then as I looked about me, where was it,—the tree of plenty? Oh, why does this outer world insult the heart so?

And yet get it I must; how, I do not care; for sin there cannot be. Sin taints only the weak; I with my *shakti*, am beyond its reach. Only a commoner can be a thief, the king conquers and takes his rightful spoil. . . . I must find out where the treasury is; who takes the money in; who guards it.

I spent half the night standing in the outer verandah peering at the row of office buildings. But how to get that Rs. 50,000 out of the clutches of those iron bars? If by some *mantram* I could have made all those guards fall dead in their places, I would not have hesitated,—so pitiless did I feel!

But while a whole gang of robbers seemed dancing a war-dance within the whirling brain of its Rani, the great house of the Rajas slept in peace. The gong of the watch sounded hour after hour, and the sky overhead placidly looked on.

At last I sent for Amulya.

"Money is wanted for the cause," I told him. "Can you not get it out of the treasury?"

"Why not?" said he, with his chest thrown out.

Alas, had I not said 'why not' to Sandip just in the same way? The poor lad's confidence could rouse no hopes in my mind.

"How will you do it?" I asked.

The wild plans he began to unfold would hardly bear repetition except in the pages of a penny dreadful.

"No, Amulya," I said, severely, "you must not be childish."

"Very well, then," he said, "let me bribe those watchmen."

"Where is the money to come from?"

"I can loot the bazar," he burst out, without blenching.

"Leave all that alone. I have my ornaments, they will serve."

"But," said Amulya, "it strikes me that the cashier cannot be bribed. Never mind, there is another and a simpler way."

"What is that?"

"Why need you hear it? It is quite simple."

"Still, I should like to know."

Amulya fumbled in the pocket of his tunic and pulled out, first a small edition of the Gita, which he placed on the table,—and then a little pistol, which he showed me, but said nothing further.

Horror! It did not take him a moment to make up his mind to kill our good old cashier!* To look at his frank open face, one would not have thought him capable of hurting a fly, but how different were the words which came from his mouth. It was clear that the cashier's place in the world meant nothing real to him; it was a mere vacancy, lifeless, feelingless, with only stock phrases from the Gita—*Who kills the body kills naught!*

"Whatever do you mean, Amulya?" I exclaimed at length. "Don't you know that the dear old man has got a wife and children and that he is . . ."

"Where are we to find men who have no wives and children?" he interrupted. "Look here, Maharani, the thing we call pity is, at bottom, only pity for ourselves. We cannot bear to wound our own tender instincts and so we do not strike at all,—pity indeed! The height of cowardice!"

To hear Sandip's phrases in the mouth of this mere boy staggered me. So delightfully, lovably immature was he,—of that age when the good may still be believed in as good, of that age when one really lives, and grows. The Mother in me awoke.

For myself there was no longer good or bad,—only death, beautiful alluring death. But to hear this stripling calmly talk of murdering an inoffensive old man as the right thing to do, made me shudder all over. The clearer I saw that there

* The cashier is the official who is most in touch with the ladies of a *zamindar's* household, directly taking their requisitions for household stores and doing their shopping for them, and so becomes more a member of the family than others. —Tr.

was no sin in his heart, the more horrible appeared to me the sin of his words. I seemed to see the sin of the parents visited on the innocent child.

The sight of his great big eyes shining with faith and enthusiasm touched me to the quick. He was going, in his fascination, straight to the jaws of the python, from which, once in, there was no return. How was he to be saved? Why does not my country become, for once, a real Mother,—clasp him to her bosom and cry out: 'Oh my child, my child, what profits it that you should save me, if so it be that I should fail to save you?'

I know, I know, that all Power on earth waxes great under compact with Satan. But the Mother is there, alone though she be, to condemn and stand against this devil's progress. The mother cares not for mere success, however great,—she wants to give life, to save life. My very soul, to-day, stretches out its hands in yearning to save this child.

A while ago I suggested robbery to him. Whatever I may now say against it will be put down to a woman's weakness. They only love our weakness when it drags the world in its toils!

"You need do nothing at all, Amulya, I will see to the money," I told him finally.

When he had almost reached the door, I called him back. "Amulya," said I, "I am your elder sister. To-day is not the Brother's Day" according to the calendar, but all the days in the year are really Brother's Days. My blessing be with you: *May God keep you always.*"

These unexpected words from my lips took Amulya by surprise. He stood stock still for a time. Then, coming to himself, he prostrated himself at my feet in acceptance of the relationship and did me reverence. When he rose, his eyes were full of tears. . . . O little brother mine! I am fast going to my death,—let me take

The daughter of the house occupies a place of specially tender affection in a Bengali household (perhaps in Hindu households all over India) because, by dictate of custom, she must be given away in marriage so early. She thus takes corresponding memories with her to her husband's home, where she has to begin as a stranger before she can get into her place. The resulting feeling, of the mistress of her new home for the one she has left, has taken ceremonial form as the Brother's Day, on which the brothers are invited to the married sisters' houses. Where the sister is the elder, she offers her blessing and receives the brother's reverence, and vice versa. Presents, called the offerings of reverence (or blessing) are exchanged. —Tr.

all your sin away with me. May no taint from me ever tarnish your innocence!

I said to him: "Let your offering of reverence be that pistol."

"What do you want with it, Sister?"

"I will practise death,"

"Right, Sister. Our women, also, must know how to die, to deal death!" with which Amulya handed me the pistol.

The radiance of his youthful countenance seemed to tinge my life with the touch of a new dawn. I put away the pistol within my clothes. May this reverence-offering be the last resource in my extremity. . . .

The door to the mother's chamber in my woman's heart once opened, I thought it would always remain open. But this pathway to the supreme good was closed when the mistress took the place of the mother and locked it again. The very next day I saw Sandip; and madness, naked and rampant, danced upon my heart.

What was this? Was this, then, my truer self? Never! I had never before known this shameless, this cruel one within me. The snake-charmer had come, pretending to draw this snake from within the fold of my garment,—but it was never there, it was his all the time. Some demon has gained possession of me, and what I am doing to-day is the play of his activity—it has nothing to do with me.

This demon, in the guise of a god, had come with his ruddy torch to call me that day, saying; "I am your Country. I am your Sandip. I am more to you than anything else of yours. *Bande Mataram!*" And with folded hands I had responded: "You are my religion. You are my heaven. Whatever else is mine shall be swept away before my love for you. *Bande Mataram!*"

Five thousand is it? Five thousand it shall be! You want it tomorrow? Tomorrow you shall have it! In this desperate orgy, that gift of five thousand shall be as the foam of wine,—and then for the riotous revel! The immoveable world shall sway under our feet, fire shall flash from our eyes, a storm shall roar in our ears, what is or is not in front shall become equally dim. And then with tottering footsteps we shall plunge to our death,—in a moment all fire will be extinguished, the ashes will be scattered, and nothing will remain behind. (*To be continued.*)

Translated by

SURENDRANATH TAGORE.

A LETTER FROM FRANCE

THANK you so much for your letter! It was deeply interesting reading, especially your remarks about affairs in India. Things indeed are going forward at home and it is a joy to me to know it. We cannot absolutely afford to lose a single minute. We must push forward with all speed and energy, but we must take both deep and quick thought, and see at each step that we are going forward on right lines. . . I am so glad to hear that Delhi has determined to secure compulsory primary education, and I hope every municipality in India will make haste to do the same. We must strive to the last bit to get that! And now when England itself has acknowledged the good of sound education for its own sons and daughters in such a marked manner, surely she cannot and will not hold it away from us, who need it so urgently. I am right glad to hear this news, away here in France, about compulsory primary education, and I wish God speed with all my heart to all such healthy and legitimate efforts!

But you are quite right in saying that we need careful and clear thinking, if we are to go forward in a healthy manner. I have learnt that lesson out here, through seeing the hospital work. Clear thought, and the wise following out of our thoughts in action, can alone make us avoid the great dangers that beset our complex situation in the future. God grant to us and God grant the Government clear sight in this most vital of all matters!

I left Rouen on Wednesday with a party of Indian Cavalry officers who were invited to visit Paris. Everything has been done for us free of all cost and we have been able to see the places of interest under the best auspices. I have also been made quite at home during my stay here in the intellectual and artistic society of this great city. Only yesterday I attended a lecture given by Professor Berillon of the Paris University, who is said to be the greatest living psychologist of our times. I went to his clinique for nervous diseases. Then I heard his lecture, in the course of

which he paid a very high tribute to the ancient Hindu philosophers and thinkers, —especially those who worked out the Yoga System of thought. He said that those great men of the past had really worked out the *Idea*; that he and the men of the West were mere craftsmen and apprentices applying these old principles, which the Hindu thinkers discovered, to practical results.

He spoke so clearly, and he used such simple words that I was able to follow him right through while he spoke on in French; and it was a most delightful lecture to listen to. The language was beautiful, the illustrations were apt and attractive. The style was simple, and as clear as sparkling water. There was also just a light ripple of mirthful comment and observation which made the whole subject pointed and full of charm.

Then I also heard Madame Berillon lecture to a class of French ladies who were coming forward to help as nurses at the front and behind the lines. It was a great privilege to be at this lecture also and it was so kind of Madame Berillon who gave me a special invitation. Paris is really fascinating with its intellectual and cultured life, and the French people are so free and affectionate, especially towards us Indians. These people indeed know how to live and to work.

Amidst all this wealth of music, art, colour, one sees the more serious side of France, in the Lecture rooms of great teachers like M. Berillon, and also in their modest and quiet homes. The home of the Berillons is in Rue Mazzarine, one of the older parts of the city. It is on the third story, the rooms are of ordinary size, quietly but really artistically arranged and cleanly and tidily kept. There is no servant,—a war economy,—the girls, boys, aunts and wife of the house do the whole menage. They all know English as they know French and are thoroughly interested in their country and in the deep things of the world of thought and science. They have taken a very great interest in India and its people. Like many French families here in Paris they have thrown their doors

wide open to the Indian officers and men who have come to their city. There is no stiffness or aloofness at all, and no coldness. They are simple and homely, yet high and great at the same time.

In all these experiences I can never forget the villages of dear India! Since my contact with the army I have been drawn more and more strongly towards our villages and to the people who live in them rather than towards the cities. It is in them that our own simple and affectionate

Indian life lies and there is wonderful intelligence also. And when one comes to think of it, the village world of India is really the world that must count when we look forward to progress in the future.

But personally there is no doubt—not the least—that before I really begin my own work on my return, I should get through a thorough course of stiff studies. I am not too old for it yet and I am by no means down-hearted.

PENSION SYSTEMS IN SCHOOLS

IT is said of Themistocles that his father, to dissuade him from accepting any public employment, showed him some old galleys that lay worn out and neglected on the sea-shore, and said, "Thus, my son, do the populace neglect their leaders, when they have no farther use for them." Every student of History knows how true the prophecy of the father turned to be.

This story of Plutarch has a significant bearing on the life of modern social-workers in India. We cast our social-servants out of employment in their old age, when the best portion of their lives have been spent for the cause of society. They have little saving to fall back upon, and to enter into any new profession, when they are past their prime, means a good deal of unlearning many habits and learning new things, for which their weak brain and body are least fitted.

There is a wide-spread tradition that corporations have no souls. But of all soulless corporations, our educational institutions probably have the smallest compassion, so far as the question of dealing with their servants and devoted workers is concerned. Few of the business corporations are as heartless towards an old officer as a very large proportion of our schools and colleges are. None of our modern institutions have ever thought it their duty to maintain the old servants who have worked ceaselessly for the benefit of society. Our schools and colleges should not divest themselves of a humane duty towards an old or worn out teacher.

There is no doubt that our private institutions are under no obligation to establish a general and permanent system of retiring allowance to the superannuated workers; but "the obligation for a service performed is one thing, and the question of taking an obligation for service to be performed is quite another."

Pensions are in vogue almost all over the world in the military department. Governments pay a vast amount of money to combatant, and non-combatant officers and privates, disabled soldiers and widows of soldiers. Besides these many hereditary Dukes, Princes, and Rajas receive no inconsiderable sums from the public treasury in recognition of some half-forgotten past services or some dubious claims, not of themselves but of their ancestors! Vast sums of public money are thus every year spent in many monarchical countries. In England and America the pension system had had to be recast after each war. But the Old-age Pension System, for the silent millions, who work in the offices of Railways, Post and Telegraph Departments, Dockyards and Arsenals and a thousand such departments and those selfless silent people who work in Schools and pass away silently without the world knowing what a life of untiring work and good wishes they have borne, is a very recent growth.

"Modern Pension Systems appeared in the nineteenth century and have shown rapid growth. Their extension to all orders of society has been a feature of the opening decade of the 20th century. This result is due chiefly to two facts; first, to our quicken-

cd sense of humanity; secondly, to the clearer appreciation that such humanity means more effective service and an improved condition of society."

It was Germany which first appeared in the field of state-controlled Pension System for all superannuated workers in the Empire. Other countries were not far behind her and followed her in this most humane work. It was only in 1908 that England fully realised the condition of the working millions, and enacted a law, which, must be admitted, was a very perfect one.

But in India the condition is quite different. In Europe, America and other more fortunate countries the people and the state are identified. The interest of the Government is not in conflict with that of society. Here the country belongs to the British, but the British public are not responsible to the people of India. Thus there is a distinct line of demarkation between the work of the Government and that of society. Here society and state work at loggerheads and people and Government, if not positively jealous of each other's work, look askance when one or the other is suddenly roused to activities. Co-operation, confidence and a right spirit of emulation are totally absent from the field of India's social and political activities. Self-Governing countries have responsible Governments and the State is there responsible for the welfare of the individual. This care of the individual is the duty of the State, when society has been dead. The underlying principles of modern legislation seek "freedom, not for some men only, but for all men." I do not know whether people have been happier than before or worse than ever, but their sufferings in old age have been a little mitigated. In Germany

"Insurance against old age and invalidity comprehends all persons who have entered upon their 17th year, and who belong to one of the following classes of wage-earners: artisans, apprentices, domestic servants, dress-makers, charwomen, laundresses, seamstresses, house-keepers, foremen, engineers, journeymen, clerks and apprentices in shops, schoolmasters, schoolmistresses, teachers and governesses, provided their earnings do not exceed £100 per annum. The insured are arranged in five classes, according to the amount of their yearly earnings, viz., £7 10s.; £27 10s.; £47 10s.; £57 10s.; and £100. The contributions affixed to a "Pension-Book" in stamps are payable each week and amount in English money to 1'45d., 2'35d., 2'82d, 3'30d., and 4'23d. Of the contribution one-half is paid by the employer and the other half by the employee, whose duty it is to see that the amount has been properly entered in the Pension-Book. The Pensions in case

of invalidity, amount (including a state subsidy of £2 10s. for each) respectively £8 8s., £11 5s., £13 10s., £15 15s., and £18. The Old-age Pension (beginning at 70 years) amount £5 10s., £7; £8 10s., £10 and £11 10s. The old-age and invalid insurance is carried out by 31 large territorial offices, to which must be added nine special unions. The income of the 40 establishments was in 1903 £8,500,000 (including £1,700,000 imperial subsidy). The capital collected was upwards of £50,000,000." [Encyclopædia Britannica, 11th Ed. Germany.]

Besides this insurance against old age and invalidity,

"Under an imperial law of 1883 and amending acts (codified in 1912), workmen must be insured against sickness, and must themselves pay two-thirds of the contributions, their employers paying one-third. For accident insurance, under an Act of 1884 and amending Acts, the contributions are paid entirely by the employers, and they for mutual protection have united into associations according to the nature of the industries in which they are engaged." "On January 1, 1916, the number of persons insured against sickness, was 4,747,613 men and 4,019,564 women; total 8,767,177." [Statesman's Year Book, 1917, pages 911,912].

In England under the National Insurance Acts, 1911 to 1916, provision is made for compulsory insurance against loss of health, for the prevention and cure of sickness, for compulsory insurance against unemployment. The number of insured persons under the Health Insurance Scheme at the beginning of 1914 was about 12¾ millions, including 260,000 deposit contributors. The number of unemployment contributors in February, 1917, was about 2,100,000, exclusive of those serving with the Army or Navy, and of the munition workers, etc. [Statesman's Year Book, 1917]. Among her colonies the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, Nova Scotia have introduced the Old Age Pension system in their respective states. In Nova Scotia, "a pension scheme is on operation whereby teachers under certain conditions receive an annuity." In France it was only in 1910, that the Old-Age Pension Law was fully given effect to; there contributions are paid up to the 60th year of the worker's life, and the State contribute 100 Francs. This sum is increased by one-tenth for every insured worker who has brought up 3 children of the age of 16. On December 31, 1913, 8,011,138 persons were registered under the scheme." [S. Y. B. p. 839].

It is needless to add here that almost all the civilized States have taken some measures for mitigating the miseries of the people, which modern industrialism

and modern legislations have brought them unto. The Educational departments have all been keen on the subject of pensioning the old teachers.

"Pensions are justified upon practically two grounds: first, those of a larger social justice; secondly, as a necessary condition to an efficient public school system. The first of these reasons applies in marked measure to pensions like that of the teacher. Society, as at present organized, desires to get the best service it can out of the various vocations and callings into which men are naturally distributed. In some of these callings great prizes are to be won, and these serve as incentives for high performance. In other callings, like that of the teacher, there are no longer prizes in the way of pecuniary reward (it would be a wise thing in society to create such). Society desires to obtain of the teacher a service quite out of proportion to the pay which he receives. Intelligence, devotion, high character—all are necessary, and the state seeks to obtain them at an average salary of \$500 [or 1,500 rupees] a year. It is clear that, if the State is to receive such service, some protection for old-age and disability must be had, if the best men and women are to be induced to enter upon such a calling as a life work. Secondly, from the standpoint of efficiency in organization, whether a governmental one or business one, there must be some means for retiring, decently and justly, worn out servants. In the past we have in most cases turned out men and women no longer able to teach, but the conscience of our time does not permit such action. Outworn teachers remain to the direct injury of the pupils themselves. As a matter of efficiency, some humane means of retirement for public school teachers is necessary."

[Report of the Carnegie Foundation.]

The above passage is as true of India as it is of the United States of America, the only difference is that our School-masters would be content with five hundred rupees a year, instead of being discontented with 500 dollars in America. In America 13 of her States have already made State laws for the pension of Teachers.

The first individual who felt the crying need of a reform in the education department in this respect was Mr. Andrew Carnegie, the owner of the biggest steel trust in the world, who made a munificent donation of 15,000,000 dollars for the pension of old professors of colleges and universities. He clearly saw that able men would not be drawn to this profession until a prospect of decent living and an honourable retiring allowance be given them. He in his letter to the trustees of the foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, wrote thus: "Able men hesitate to adopt teaching as a career, and many old professors, whose places should be occupied by younger men, cannot be retired." But it is a pity Mr. Carnegie made

this provision only for college and university Professors. The President of the same Foundation in a report, in considering the problem of school teachers, says:

"But if there is a justification for pensions for Teachers in colleges, there is a still stronger justification for Pensions for teachers in Public Schools, where salaries are lower, work is harder, and the conditions of service are in every way most difficult. One of the greatest weaknesses of our [American] Public School Systems to-day lies in the fact that only a small number of men can be induced to undertake permanent careers in it. Before we can hope for the best results in education, we must make a career for an ambitious man possible in the public schools. To do this dignity and security must be given to Teacher's calling and probably no one step could be taken which will be more influential in including able men and women to adopt the profession of the teacher in the public schools than to attach to that vocation the security which Pension brings."

In India the schools in lower grades are filled up by most worthless men, of course there are honourable exceptions. The reason is not far to seek. Teaching is indeed a fine art; but the fact that it is an art is not a sufficient incentive and consolation for young men to join this service. Very often people disqualified from other services or unsuccessful in other lucrative professions, have recourse to teaching at last, as if the least degree of qualification and minimum amount of knowledge are the prerequisites of this profession. Teaching is no fine art to them, it is *merely* a means of subsistence. To others in India, it is a stepping stone to higher stations of life. I do not know if there be a single graduate working in office or pleaders practising in the Bar, who has not, once in his life, done some teaching work. It is not infrequently that a barrister or a High Court Vakil is appointed a professor with his one hand in the pockets of his clients and another in the college office! These people, as soon as they have a good practice, throw away the college work. Teaching is indeed a stepping stone to them. How can we hope for efficient teaching until and unless we can draw people, who would gladly stick to this line of work? And the only means of attracting efficient men, is to pay them decently. I do not say that the profession should be made wealthy by paying its workers lavishly; but its members should be protected against want, anxiety, neglect and bad conditions of labour. "To do his best work one needs not merely to live, but to live well." But our school masters and "Native" professors live in eternal

poverty. Poverty in a society where wealth is held in great honour, is a crime. There can be little doubt that unless a thorough reorganisation in the Educational department in respect to pay, retiring allowance or provident fund or pension system be made, little have we to expect in the line of efficiency. Let us see what percentage of the teaching population reap the benefit of pension in the Educational line in India. The following passage is quoted from the Education Report for 1907-1912.

"At the quinquennium there are 10 directors of Public Instruction. There are also (excluding the 14 posts in chief's colleges) 175 officers in the I. E. S., the average monthly pay is 783 (less than the actual by reason of the fact that many officers have not reached Rs. 1000 grade). Of these 4 are Indians. There are 380 officers in the provincial service (of whom 328 are Indians and some of the other members of the domiciled community); the average pay is Rs. 318 a month. The subordinate and lower subordinate services contain 7,811 officers (of whom 200 were Europeans) drawing an average pay of Rs. 55 a month. There are also 465 ungraded posts (of which 43 are held by Europeans) on an average pay of somewhat over Rs. 75 a month; and 104 posts which cannot be classified (of which 90 are held by Europeans) on an average pay of slightly over Rs. 152 a month. The total number of officers in these services is thus 8,945."

"These services, however, turn but a small section of the host of Teachers, who number 215,518. Of these only 7,598 are in Government service; 51,979 are in employ of Boards; 9,121 in that of municipal bodies; and 1,46,820 belong to privately managed schools. The conditions upon which last three classes work are less favourable than in the case of Government servants."

"But the principal disqualification is the general want of some provision for old age. Government servants look forward to their pensions. But, generally speaking, those teachers in private employ have no prospect of pension and no contribution fund. This is a matter in which reform is urgently called for." [Pp. 31,32]

In Europe and America much storm has blown over the question of the adaptability of contributory and non-contributory systems of pension. We cannot think of introducing non-contributory system in our Education Department until an Indian Carnegie comes forward to pay for the poor teachers. The condition of schools and colleges, in every case, is not solvent and it would hardly be possible for our institutions to grant pensions or any retiring allowance once for all without the non-contributory method. In the German Universities long before the state had taken the burden on its own shoulders, the pensions began with the contribution of the professors themselves, and only after a long discussion on the economic and

moral questions involved in it, was the burden of these pensions shifted from the shoulders of the teachers to the treasury of the Government-aided organization.

It is needless to add here that in India the difference between a School-master and a Professor or a School Inspector or his subordinates is very great. This difference is not merely in the amount of salary they draw, but also in the degree of recognition in society. In Germany, the salary of a Director is from £300 to £400 per annum and of a teacher from £130 to £250. These salaries, however, carry pensions. (Germany of Today, page 144). "On the whole the university professors are not highly paid. A professor in ordinary, if he be of great national importance and highly respected, may in Prussia be in receipt of an income amounting to about £600; the average salary in Prussia is about £350, to which should be added lecture fees, which in certain instances may amount to another £100 per annum." (P. 155). In India we have every reason to believe that the whole structure of Education is top heavy; one set of people are growing fat at the cost of the people, whereas another set in the same sphere of work are on the verge of famine. This anomaly should be done away with and let us hope that some day the socialisation of work and pay would be introduced in the department.

The specific things that I have to propose before the public are the following:— (1) a fair retiring allowance after 55 years of age or the benefits of a provident fund; or (2) a disability allowance after 25 years of service as a teacher, in case of a failure in health so complete as to unfit him for his work as a teacher; (3) the payment to the widow of a teacher, who has had 25 years of service, of a pension equal to one-half of the allowance he would have been entitled to at 55. But there is one great difficulty in its way in private services. For there is no co-ordination of work and no co-operation between schools. It should be the duty of the University to improvise certain means to meet these difficulties.

I believe, it would not be out of place just to mention the great financial and actuarial difficulties which some of the Banks and Insurance Companies in connection with pension system have met in the United States of America and Australia.

"In New South Wales the Government had to fight hard with uncertain facts, unreliable data for years and at last in 1903 the economic disaster, which the expert actuaries repeatedly warned the Government of, came down with a crash; the super-annuation account has no funds left in its treasury. Over £1,000,000 had been contributed to it during its existence, but it was all gone..... It is calculated that in 1936 this drain upon the treasury will have ceased finally."

Such disaster befell many of the Pension Funds in New York. Our difficulties and dangers in this direction are tremendous. We shall have to work hard with

such problems as longevity, expectation of life and a thousand such other question connected with the Theory of Probabilities. The time is ripe for our society, Government and the universities to join hands for the amelioration of the dreadful and wretched condition of the most useful of social workers, viz., its teachers.

City College, PROBHAAT KUMAR MUKHERJEE.
Calcutta.

THAT PERFECT ONE

A MEDITATION BY MAHARSHI DEBENDRANATH TAGORE.

"Know that Perfect One, who is worthy to be known, so that Death may give you no pain."

KNOW the Deathless. Then Death will give you no pain. Take shelter in Him, worship Him, know Him who is worthy to be known.

Death's cruel image is ever before us. The world itself is Death's symbol: Everything dies that is born. The restless, fleeting imagery of life, the changing, transitory history of man remind us incessantly of Death. Death is all around us and about us. How can we escape from its fears?

We are freed from all fear by taking shelter in the Deathless. In this world there is fear, but there is no fear in the dwelling-place of immortality. In this world the pangs of death may overtake us: Yet even now, by taking refuge in the Deathless, we may get courage and win hope.

How wonderful, that in the midst of Death we may know the Undying! How wonderful, that we who are so feeble can take shelter from our terrors with the King of Kings and Lord of Lords!

Amid all the varied happenings of the world, man alone can consciously fulfil the gracious purposes of God. Birds and beasts, fish and fowl, live and move and have their being all unconscious of the kindly care of the Creator. They do His will, but know it not.

But man has this supreme gift of know-

ledge. Of his own free will he becomes one with the gracious purposes of God. Living in the midst of death, he alone attains the Deathless. Dwelling in the region of fear, he alone takes shelter in the Fearless.

When thus we learn consciously to depend upon that Perfect One, we move in a new world; we can never lose the joy of our soul. We may have suffering to endure, we may have danger to encounter, we may have sickness to overcome, but the joy of the inner spirit will remain unquenched. Taking refuge in the dwelling place of the Immortal, the terrors of Death cannot affright us.

Therefore, so long as we remain in this world, with all its fears, let us not turn away, but draw near to the Deathless. The scripture says,—“Let me not turn away from God: let God not turn away from me; let there be no disunion.”

Apart from God, all life would be waste and void. From God flow all our joys. He never forgets us for a moment.

Utter ruin would be ours, if God were to forsake us. So the scripture says again,—“Who could move or live, if this Being, whose very name is Joy, filled not the infinite space?”

God is the Giver of all joy. From our birth He has nourished us with His love. He remembers us at all times, that we may not become forgetful of Him.

How can it be possible for man to forsake Him? Have we not cares, anxieties, suffering, depressions of mind? Can we, then, bear to live without Him? Have we not fears and terrors? Can we, then, neglect His haven of Peace? Have we not sins and stains? Do we not need the shelter of Him who can make pure the defiled?

None but God Himself can give peace to our restless hearts. None but God Himself can drive away our fears in this fear-haunted world. If we forsake Him, we lose our highest good. Our best deeds become selfish, our purest enjoyment becomes ungracious.

In our times of joy, let us remember the Giver of joy. In taking our food, let us call to mind the Giver of our daily bread. In our repentance for sin, let us come to the Fountain of purity. Let us surrender ourselves to Him, and attain the new life of the soul.

Some may ask for instruction as to the manner of His worship. The worship of Him, whose tender care we enjoy, needs no instruction. The love of God, the great Giver of Good, cannot be taught by rote.

God Himself is the Teacher of teachers, the Father of us all. Let us come simply

to Him in childlike adoration. Worship will be natural to us, if we are true to our nature. Only let our inner life grow freely, and we shall learn, each in our own way, to worship Him.

Those desolate countries where God is not worshipped, those destitute homes where His Name is never uttered, those vacant hearts wherein His seat is not spread, are the dwelling-places of despondency. Therefore from to-day take shelter with Him and begin your inner worship. Bring your thoughts and actions, your faith and conduct, into harmony.

As a child runs to its mother's arms without fear, so enter fearlessly into His presence. Oppressed with sin, take refuge in Him with tears of repentance. And He, who is tender to the desolate, will give you freedom. Worship Him, who is King of Kings and Lord of Lords.

If any have the knowledge, but lack the joy of worship, then let them persevere in earnest prayer for purity of heart. Surely they too will feel His goodness.

At last, by all, in the inmost heart, the scripture will be understood,—“God does not forsake me; let me not turn away from God.”

(Translated from the Bengali.)

INTERNATIONAL LAW IN ANCIENT INDIA

By S. V. VISWANATHA, M.A., L.T.

V. RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS IN PEACE :— SEC. 3. *Alliances and Treaties.*

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS.

IT was noted in the last section how alliances and treaties were among the most important functions of ambassadors. In this an attempt is made to consider the various causes, characteristics and kinds of alliances and treaties. As has been already seen¹ there were political units of organisation of different grades and of unequal strength and resources in the various ages of the ancient history of India. Naturally, there arose the necessity for constant intercourse among these

states for various purposes and what in modern technology of international relations are known as alliances, leagues, confederacies, ententes and coalitions became absolutely necessary.

Alliances, variously styled सन्धि, संघ, आश्रय, and समाश्रय, are reckoned by all writers, secular and religious, as forming a separate department of statecraft.¹ It is defined as seeking the protection of another,² a means by which even the weak may become powerful.³ The works on polity place

¹ The six attributes of statecraft are Sandhi, Vighraha, Samsraya, Asana, Yana and Dvaitibhava.

² Kautilya : Arthashastra, VII. 1.

³ Sukraniti, IV. 7, l. 472.

¹ See *Mod. Rev.* June 1918.

great insistence on the king keeping up the 'balance of power' among the circle of states that surrounded him (मण्डल).¹ A *mandala* consisted of twelve kings of different attitudes and varying relations to each other.² It was to the interest of a state to manipulate the relations with others in such a way as never to allow itself to be overwhelmed. It should have round it friendly, hostile and neutral states arranged so as to secure the safety of its own position. A balance of power was to be aimed at and there was little chance in such a case of the particular state being invaded by hostile armies because there were the other intervening states who might form coalitions to resist the invasion on the principle of 'self-preservation.' The wise king should thus make himself the *nabhi* (centre of gravity) of the *mandala* and make the surrounding states the *nemi* (spokes) of the wheel.³ In this Kautilya and the rest touch on the importance of constant alliances and counter-alliances between the various powers.

Thus, alliances were from the beginning of our history of great necessity and importance, considering the multiplicity of the nature and the number of states in ancient India and the divergent tendencies and opposing principles which characterised the dealings of a ruler against the rest.

HISTORY OF ALLIANCES.

Alliances are in evidence even in the earliest age of the history of India. In the *Rig Veda*⁴ we find that some of the Aryan tribal communities entered into an alliance with each other and with the non-Aryan tribes to form a 'confederacy' of ten tribes against the most powerful Aryan political organisation of the Tritsus under their leader Sudās. The result was the 'Battle of Ten Kings'⁵ which is made mention of in some of the hymns. The apparent cause for the formation of the confederacy was

the desire on their part to check the growth of Sudās.

In the Epics there are many instances of alliances actuated by different motives in different cases. We read of the names of a good belt¹ of Aryan and non-Aryan kingdoms that took sides with the combatants in the Mahā Bhārata War. The 'alliance' was for offensive and defensive purposes and was formed with a view to crush one of the rival powers and to lead to the rise of the other. The frequent quarrels among some non-Aryan and Aryan tribes offered no doubt another opportunity for some of the alliances of Aryan and non-Aryan powers that are in evidence in the age. The alliance of Rama and Sugriva² as against Vāli and Rāvana is a case in point. Another instance is met with in that of the Pāndavas and the king of Virāta against the Kauravas.³ These, we may say, were formed to keep up the balance of power or to uphold the cause of the righteous against the wrong-doer.

Coming to later times, we find, Magadha and Avanti were for long the dominant states in Hindusthan and naturally enough alliances were formed between the various smaller states to thwart the growing ambition of these Imperial states and to preserve their own integrity and independence. The Pratijnāyugandharāyana⁴ of Bhāsa illustrates how king Pradyōta, Mahāsēna of Avanti was trying to realise 'the world ideal' and how he tried to overcome the Prince of Kausambi who alone had managed to be independent. An early example⁵ of alliance in the history of Magadha may be seen in the confederacy of the eight Lichchavi clans. The coalition of these clans was formed in order to act as a bulwark against the growing aggression of Magadha which was trying to stretch its arms on all sides especially under the reigns of the most powerful of its sovereigns Bimbisāra and

1 Arthasastra, VI. 2.

2 These were besides the king in point अरि, मित्र, बन्धन, उदासीन, अरिमित्र, मित्रमित्र, अरिमित्र-मित्र, पाण्डिचाह, आक्रन्द, पाण्डिचाहासार, and आक्रन्द-सार।

Arthasastra, VI. 2; See Manu, VII. 155-157.

3 Arthasastra, VII. 2.

4 and 5 Rig Veda, VII. 18. 23 for example.

1 Chief of these were the Uttara Kurus, Uttara Madras, Gandharas, Bahlikas to the north; Angas, Magadhas, Kikatas to the east; Bhojas, Andhras, Satvas on the south; Nichyas, Apachyas, Bhills, Kambhojas, and Tangaras on the west.

Mahabharata: Bhishma Parva: Bhagavatgita Parva.

2 Ramayana: Kishkindhakandam, 17.

3 Mahabharata: Virata Parva.

4 Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.

5 V. A. Smith: Early History of India, page 36 citing Jacobi: Jaina Sutras.

Ajātasatru. The latter is said to have defeated this coalition and acquired for himself a large tract of territory. A little later there is the alliance between Udayana of Kausāmbi and Darsaka of Magadha which forms the historical background of the Svapna Vāsavadattā.¹ In the same period we read of Chandra-gupta Maurya having displaced the Nandas from the throne with the help of the 'Lion' and the 'Elephant'.² These alliances were actuated either by the desire of acquisition of kingly power and territory or to prevent the danger of being overcome by more powerful enemies.

CAUSES FOR THE FORMATION OF ALLIANCES.

From this brief sketch of political alliances we are enabled to gather the causes that led to their formation. The occasion for these varied apparently in different cases. But for the most part they were made for defence against the aggression of other powers; and as Kautilya³ said 'whoever was lacking in the necessary strength to defend himself sought the protection of another.' It was in certain cases to prevent the dangerous overgrowth of one particular state or to thwart the designs of the enemy by show of combination and thus attain one's object.⁴ Other causes for alliances appear to have been the desire for the acquisition of territory or for keeping up the balance of power among the states in ancient India. It may be noted, in general, that the alliances were entered into mostly for the purposes of war against others. At other times the ordinary rules of statecraft⁵ and the attitude of one state towards another in normal times regulated the conduct of the states to each other. In the latter case there was no special necessity for the formation of alliances. In fact all states which were not enemies, either natural or artificial, were allies to one another.

NATURE OF AND NECESSITY FOR ALLIANCES.

The following points may be noted as

¹ See Svapnavasavadatta : Triv. Sansk. Ser.

² These were the emblems respectively of the king of Simhapuram in Rajputana and the Gayapatis of the south.

See Indian Antiquary for 1916,

³ Arthashastra, VII. 1.

⁴ Manu Smṛiti, VII. 168.

⁵ See Ante for April and May 1918.

regards the nature of and necessity for alliances.

"One should ally oneself with a king stronger than one's neighbouring enemy. In the absence of such an ally one should ingratiate oneself with one's neighbour. There can be no greater evil to kings than seeking protection with a king of enormous power unless one is actually attacked. A king situated between two powerful kings shall ally himself with the stronger or with the more reliable or with both on equal terms. He may make alliance with a neutral. Of two powerful kings friendly to each other a king should choose to seek the protection of the one who likes him most and who is liked by him."

This, says Kautilya,¹ is the best method of making alliances.

KINDS OF ALLIANCE.

Alliances were of various types—*offensive* and *defensive*—the former mostly during war, the latter in peace times as well. A second type is in evidence in the alliances on *equal* or *unequal* terms² (समान and असमान or सैन). Apparently in the first class both parties that entered into the alliance had equal advantage, while in the latter case, from its very nature the less powerful states of the alliance were bound to the larger states in various ways. In fact, any alliance between greater and smaller states, where the initiative is taken by the latter, being hard-pressed to keep up its own existence, was, generally speaking, an instance of the latter class of alliances (असमान). In the Harsha Charita³ we meet with an alliance of this kind entered into by Kumārarāja, the king of Kāmarupa with the king. The position of an असमान ally corresponded in a way to that of the feudatories to the suzerain. They were bound, it would appear, 'to do suit' as is indicated by the order⁴ that was given by Harsha to his ally. "I desire you to come at once to the assembly with the strange Sramana you are entertaining at the Nālanda convent." The subordinate character of Kumārarāja in relation to Harsha is clear from the place accorded to him in the procession with the image of the Buddha as described by Yuan Chwang.⁵

¹ Arthashastra, VII. 1.

² Manu, VII. 163 for e.g.

³ Chapter, VII. I am indebted for this suggestion to Dr. Banerjea's 'Public Administration in Ancient India.'

⁴ Yuan Chwang : 'Buddhist Records of the Western World,' I. 216.

⁵ Ibid, I. 218.

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The duties of a subordinate ally roughly speaking were as follow :—

(1) To agree to accept the superiority of his ally, and

(2) To leave with him in the main the conduct of the affairs for which the alliance was formed.¹

(3) To give him help in various ways, providing him with men, money, etc., and giving him all auxiliary help.²

(4) To attend on him when called on to do so.³

(5) To be bound to abide by the terms of the alliance.

Alliances may again be either *voluntary* or *purchased*.⁴ The former depended on the good will of the parties and were certainly more stable depending on mutual good understanding. The latter were in the face of them mercenary and intended to stand only for so long as the object for which the alliance was formed was achieved. These, it is held, were not alliances proper. Alliances with *feudatories* and *vassals* were in evidence, though they were not considered quite desirable, as is clear from the statement in the *Sukraniti*⁵ to the effect that a king may make peace with feudatories in order to conquer his enemies. Throughout there were not only the alliances of the Aryan or the non-Aryan states among themselves but also of mixed nature formed of *Aryan and non-Aryan powers*. The alliances mentioned in the *Rig Veda* and in the epics are cases in point.

MATRIMONIAL ALLIANCES AS SECURITY FOR POLITICAL ALLIANCES.

Very often a political compact was strengthened by marriage alliances between the sovereigns. And here we are reminded of the system of 'Dynastic Marriages' which prevailed in Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries. To cite only a few instances. Vatsa, the country of Udayana, is overrun by his enemies under the arch rebel Aruni. He is compelled to flee and protects himself in *Lāvānaka* for a time. In order to win the support of Darsaka, king of Magadha, a marriage is

contrived¹ by Udayana's skilful minister Yaugandharāyana of his king with Padmavati, the sister of Darsaka. "The marriage was of political significance to Udayana as it meant not only Darsaka's abstention from activity helping the insurgents in the Vatsa country, but prompt aid in putting the rebellion down."² An instance of a different type may be seen in the alliance between Seleucus and Chandragupta where the latter is offered the hand of the daughter of Seleucus.³

TREATIES AND THEIR FORMATION.

Alliances were made to depend on treaties as to the purpose, duration and object of such alliances. Those of honour were certainly the most praiseworthy.⁴ But there were, as we have seen, other kinds, e.g., those that concluded the wars and those that were secured by purchase—in the case of which specially there was the necessity for the stipulation of the terms on which they were concluded and possibly also for the mention of penalty in case of breach. The treaties in these cases were necessary to keep up the subordinate character of the less powerful of the states of the alliance. These were concluded by the ambassadors, or other accredited ministers of the sovereigns or as oftentimes happened the kings met in person and made the agreements of peace. It would appear that though the general terms of the alliances may be settled by the ministers appointed for the purpose, the sovereign was the final treaty-making and ratifying authority.

CHARACTERISTICS OF TREATIES.

A treaty has been defined as that which bound sovereigns in faith to one another.⁵ Those actions by which the powerful foe becomes friendly constituted a treaty.⁶ A treaty for its observance generally depended on the word of honour (सत्य श्रमण). Securities (प्रतिभूः) and hostages (प्रतिग्रह)

1 See Svapnavāsavadatta of Bhāsa, *op. cit.*

2 *Ind. Ant.*, 1916, *op. cit.*

3 Smith : Early Hist. of India, p. 119.

4 These were the only honourable and proper forms of alliances. This idea is probably implied in the statement in the *Sukraniti* : 'Everything else other than alliance implies a species of gifts.' IV. 7. 11. 476-7 ; & *Arthashastra*, VII. 17

5 Kautilya : *Arthashastra*, VI. 17.

6 *Sukraniti*, IV. 7. 466-7.

1 As is implied in the very definition of the term.

2 Agni Purāna.

3 Yuan Chwang, *op. cit.*

4 *Sukraniti*, IV. 7. 1. 578.

5 *Ibid.*, IV. 7. 1. 481.

were demanded in certain cases of doubtful intention.¹ As the Sukraniti holds, gifts were given according to the strength of the adversary. Sometimes one had to bind oneself to do some service; even to part with one's children, wealth and property.² Ascetics and nobles sometimes stood as securities to avoid the breach of treaty obligations. In cases where there was the fear of breach of honesty, one party exacted from the other an oath by fire, water or the sword.³ According to the older teachers, says Kautilya,⁴ a treaty of the second and third classes was considered stable (स्थाय), while one of honour was unstable (अस्थ). Sukraniti which comes later lays down that without gifts there is no (good) form of agreement.⁵ Kautilya, however, holds the view that a treaty depending on सत्यवचन was more permanent as being useful not only during life on earth but also in the world beyond, unlike the latter kinds which served men only in this world.⁶

DURATION OF TREATIES.

A treaty was generally in force until the object for which the powers had treated and the conditions stated therein had been accomplished. In the case of alliances and treaties between unequal powers, the lesser states were placed in less advantageous positions and possibly the penalty inflicted on them, in case of a breach of the terms, was heavier. The breach of the conditions laid down in treaties proved one of the various causes of war on the state that did not keep its word. There was the chance of the defaulter-state not only incurring the odium of being untrue to its word—the most serious violation of the rules of Dharma and therefore a great stigma on the state that was not सत्यवचन—but being blotted out of existence by a combination of other powers to assert the cause of the right. Securities were necessitated because, as Kautilya⁷ with his usual practical wisdom said, the state whose power was rapidly increasing might at any time break the terms of the agreement.

In this connection we are reminded in a way of the spirit with which agreements and treaties have been safeguarded by some of the European nations of modern times. It is a sad feature to note that the high sounding guarantees of safety and security were given effect to by some of these only so far as they served their own ends and if they had no more prospect of gain the nearest opportunity was possibly taken hold of by them to deal with them as no more valuable than scraps of paper. Instances are apparently rare in Ancient India of breach of the terms of the treaties entered into. But in the case of 'treaties depending on promises to pay in future large hoardes of money, there was the possibility that owing to distance and owing to its having been kept long the amount of the tribute may sometimes fall in arrears.' Also, in the case of agreements to pay more than the land could yield, where it was exacting more than one could manage, there was the possibility of the promise not being fulfilled. In these cases a reasonable period of time either stipulated or not was allowed. There was next the possibility of the evasion of the terms of the agreement, which had to be allowed, under the 'plea of loss of results from works.'¹

KINDS OF TREATIES.

We have next to take note of the various kinds of treaties recorded in our literature, and among these the most common were those that concluded the wars. Kautilya² mentions quite a large number of these. They have been roughly classified under :—

- (1) Dandōpanata.....offering the army.
- (2) Kōśōpanata.....treasure.
- (3) Dēśōpanata.....territory.
- (4) Suvarna.....amicably settled
(peace with honour).

(1) Under दण्डोपनत are mentioned :—

(a) आत्मनिष—'Agreement on the understanding that with a section of the army or with the flower of his troops the sovereign should present himself.'

(b) युद्धवान्तर—'That made on the condition that the commander of the army and the crown prince should present themselves.' 'This kind of treaty is conducive

1 Arthasastra, VII. 17.

2 Sukraniti IV. 7 430 f.

3 Arthasastra VII. 17.

4 Ibid.

5 IV. 7.476 7.

6 Arthasastra, VII. 17.

7 Do. VI. 17.

1 Arthasastra, VII. 3. (See *Infra*).

2 Do.

to self-preservation as it does not require the attendance of the king.'

(c) अदृष्टवत्—'The one made on the agreement that the king or some one else appointed should march with the army to some place as required.' 'This form is conducive to the safety of the king and the chief's army.'

(2) Under कोषोपनत are :—

(a) प्रक्षिप्त—'When by the offer of wealth the rest of the elements of sovereignty are set free.'

(b) उपयत्—'When peace is concluded by offer of money capable of being carried on one's shoulders.'

(c) दयात्—'When by offering large amount of money peace is concluded.'

(3) ईकोपनत has the following subheads :—

(a) अदिष्ट—'When by cession of a part of territory the rest of the land is saved.'

(b) उद्दिष्टवत्—'If the part of the terri-

tory is ceded but devoid of all resources therein.'

(c) अवक्तव्य—'By which the land is set free on the understanding that payment will be made of the produce thereof.'

(d) परिभूषण—'Agreement to pay more than the land could yield.'

(4) सुवर्च—'When between the parties making the treaty there is the amicable union of hearts.'

The last was by all means the most desirable form of peace-making. Whereas the other forms depended on promises to cede wealth, land or forces, in the last the cessation of hostilities or the settlement of disputes depended merely on the word of honour of both parties.

This chapter closes the section on Rights and Obligations in Peace. The next chapter will begin with the section on War.

NEWSPAPER REPORTERS IN THE GALLERY OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

BY BABU LAL SUD, B.A., BAR-AT-LAW.

OF the London reporters, the most distinguished are the men in the Gallery of the House of Commons. The Press Gallery is the height of reportorial ambition, and the Gallery men are justly named the Olympians of this department of journalism. A visitor on his first visit to the stranger's gallery in the House of Commons will see the long gallery above and behind the Speaker's head, the occupants of which are continually moving, as, after every few minutes, one of them rises and is at once relieved by another. The fact that the occupants of this Gallery are continually moving and diligently writing is sufficient introduction to the visitor, and leaves no doubt in his mind that they are the Press Reporters who are there to report Parliamentary proceedings, speeches, etc. He will at once know that they are not members of the House or its state officials, but representatives

of the Press. "The Times", being the first newspaper in the United Kingdom, enjoys the privilege of three representatives in the Gallery—Chief of Staff, reporter, and summary-writer. Other leading papers, such as "The Daily Telegraph", "The Morning Post", "The Daily News and Leader", "The Daily Chronicle" have the privilege of one representative only. Many papers do not send representatives, and depend for their parliamentary reports on the Press Agencies. The editors of the newspapers too occasionally come into the reporters' gallery when important debates are going to take place in the House.

The right-hand corner of the Press Gallery is reserved for Hansard. Here sits the representative of Hansard. The reader will naturally ask at this point, "What is Hansard?" The answer is that Hansard is the name of the official record of the proceedings in Parliament which are

published every year in a bulky volume. These records are most useful to a politician for reference purposes, especially to a member of the House of Commons. Hansard is named after Luke Hansard, a printer, born at Norwich in 1752. In his early days he left Norwich, where he was a Printer, came over to London, and found employment with Hughes, who was at that time printer to the House of Commons. His employer died and he succeeded to his business, and soon acquired reputation as an accurate printer of Parliamentary proceedings and papers. He died in 1828, and his business in the House of Commons was continued by his family. In the eighties Hansard became a public company, and since then its work has been greatly increased, and is carried on by a large body of staff. At first Parliamentary reports printed by Hansard were often modified by the members of the House of Commons at their own pleasure. But the case of *Stockdale versus Hansard* (1839) put a stop to this sort of practice. In that case the House of Commons had authorised Hansard, its printer, to publish a report which contained a libel upon Stockdale. Stockdale sued Hansard for libel, and Hansard pleaded in justification the authority of the House of Commons. It was held that the House of Commons cannot, by its own resolution, "alter the law of the land so as to legalize an otherwise illegal act; and further, that a resolution of the House declaring its privilege would not prevent the court from inquiring into the validity or otherwise of such privilege." In consequence of this, and in order to render Hansard immune from the consequences of libel, in future, an Act was passed in 1840 which provided that in such cases a certificate, signed by the necessary officials, to the effect that the publication was by order of the House, would operate as a stay of proceedings.

The history of the reporter in the Gallery of the House of Commons is as fierce and steady in fight as the history of the fight for the freedom of the Press. The House of Commons at first did not look upon the reporter as a desirable person, but for years—nay for more than a century—looked upon him as a "stranger." First of all it was Lord Marchmont in 1762 who used to take a special delight in insisting on the imposition of the statutory penalties on the newspaper men

who would mention the name of any member of the House of Commons in the report of a debate. In 1793, Wyndham in his attack on the newspaper men described them as "bankrupts, lottery-office keepers, footmen, and decayed tradesmen." But this abuse was so keenly felt by Sheridan that it led him to the championship of the representatives of the Press whom he described as "men of education and even of literary distinction." But the Benchers of Lincoln's Inn tried to pass a resolution that no man who had written for a newspaper should be admitted to the Bar. But in this they were opposed by James Stephen, Master in Chancery, who supported Sheridan, and thus killed the resolution. In fact, James Stephen himself had been once a reporter for the "Morning Post", and could not stand his amateur profession being thus degraded. In 1833, Daniel O'Connell made an attempt to clear the reporters' Gallery in the House, but failed. Then he tried to adjourn the sitting by the traditional remark, "I spy strangers." But this too came to nothing. In 1875 Mr. Biggar attempted to clear all the galleries. He was successful in so far that all those present, among whom was His late Majesty King Edward the Seventh, as Prince of Wales, excepting the members of the House, had to withdraw. But Mr. Disraeli condemned this strongly, and "moved the suspension of the order requiring the withdrawal of strangers who thereupon returned, the Prince being the first to re-enter the House."

The reader will be astonished to know that though Parliamentary reporting has been going on for more than a century past, it is still illegal, and is a breach of privilege of the House of Commons. Both the House of Lords and the House of Commons have frequently declared by passing resolution that the publication of debates of either House constitutes a breach of privilege. This privilege was strictly enforced by the House of Commons till 1771, and if reports of Parliamentary debates did appear now and then in the papers, the names of members were either not given or they were given fictitious names. For instance, Edward Cave, who founded the "Gentleman's Magazine" in 1736, and who is considered to be the first man to publish reports of speeches in the House of Commons and who engaged

Dr. Johnson for the parliamentary work in 1740, for two years, i.e., till 1738, disguised a speaker's name with a blank. But when in 1738 the House threatened him with its vengeance in case he went on with his impudent practice of reporting parliamentary speeches, he became more careful and adopted fictitious names, though made his reports fuller by giving them such titles as "Debates in the Senate of Great Lilliput." But the chief credit of bringing the system of parliamentary reporting to perfection belongs to William Woodfall, editor of the "Morning Chronicle", and James Perry of the "Gazetteer". The former worked from memory, as it was then perilous to be seen taking notes in the House, and the latter organised the system of relays of reporters, and thus published the parliamentary speeches on the very morning following the debate. In 1771, the House of Commons sent a messenger to arrest Miller, a printer of Parliamentary debates. Miller gave the messenger into custody for assault, and the Lord Mayor and two aldermen committed him for trial, though releasing him on bail. Upon this the House of Commons at once caused the entry to be erased from the book of recognizances, and sent the Lord Mayor and two aldermen to the Tower. This aroused a feeling of indignation, and the House waived the right to restrain publication of its debates. But, it should be noted, this right is still permitted upon sufferance only, and the House can still exercise the right of punishing the offender if he wilfully misrepresents its debates. But it was the case of *Wason v. Walter*, 1868, which decided that "faithful and fair reports of parliamentary proceedings although containing matter disparaging to individuals, is privileged; though the publication of a particular speech mala fide, with the object of damaging an individual, would not be privileged."

But the Parliamentary reporter is nowadays declining in importance. There was a time when the famous journalists wanted to get into the Gallery of the House of Commons, and the public used to attach greater importance to the Parliamentary reporter than to the ordinary reporter. But with the advent of modern journalism imported from America, the parliamentary reporting in its entirety has been practically abandoned, and the majority of

London papers now content themselves with a lively sketch of the proceedings and a full report of two or three important speeches in the course of the whole session, which speeches can easily be procured from the news agencies at a small cost. Now-a-days the Gallery is considered to be a fine training-ground for the man who wants to see how things are done and who wants to know the leading politicians of the day. But it is no place for the man who wants to be known as a journalist. Moreover, the pay of a parliamentary reporter is rather meagre in comparison to the pay of a man who works on the staff of a leading London daily. The fact of the matter is, that the glory of the man in the Gallery of the House of Commons has, practically speaking, gone. I am, of course, referring to the parliamentary reporting and not to the sketch writing.

The sketch-writer of parliamentary proceedings, etc., has come to the fore. He is at present in great demand. He is known by what the journalists call "Lobbyist". His duty is to pick up gossip connected with parliament and its members. He walks up and down the lobby, and interviews the members of the House upon any subject of public interest and thus picks up any item of parliamentary intelligence. Before the sketch-writing of parliamentary intelligence came into fashion, "The Times" had its daily summary, but it was really an unpicturesque affair. It was Mr. (now Sir) H. W. Lucy of "The Daily News" (now "Daily News and Leader"), "whose delightful letters made the actual drama of Parliament a living thing for newspaper readers." No other English journalist (Mr. T. P. O'Connor bracketed) has done more than Sir H. W. Lucy to enlighten the Londoner on affairs of the House of Commons. For many years he was the representative of "The Daily News" in the Gallery of the House of Commons. He also represented that paper in the lobby. Even when Mr. Labouchere, at one time proprietor of "The Daily News", appointed him the editor of "The Daily News", Mr. Lucy was usually seen in the Gallery. In fact he was not at home in "the chair". He, no doubt, as an editor wrote leading articles, but it was his parliamentary letter in his paper which was much appreciated by the public. His portraits of Major Gorman, Sir Patrick O'Brien, and Mr. Tom

Collins are still fresh in the minds of the reader. But his pen pictures of Mr. Gladstone are simply delightful. Another English journalist who has done more than others to make the parliamentary affairs most interesting and charming to the average Englishman is Mr. T. P. O'Connor. He writes regularly every week for the "Reynolds Newspaper" on Parliamentary affairs, and I am simply doing justice to him and nothing more—I mean no flattery—when I say that as descriptive writing of parliamentary affairs, I have not read anything of its kind in any other London paper. To me he seems to be not only one of the most versatile, experienced and original writers, as journalists say, but one of the fastest descriptive writers in London. In addi-

tion, his account of parliamentary affairs is always unbiased. Of course, he is an Irishman, and is, therefore, naturally and honestly inclined towards the Irish people, and is one of the strongest advocates of Irish Home Rule. But this fact alone does not detract from the value of his being an impartial and sound critic and writer of affairs in general. Anyone, whether Britisher or Foreigner, who wants to be acquainted with Parliament, its members and its affairs, cannot do better than read Mr. T. P. O'Connor's weekly article in "Reynolds's Newspaper". No wonder, he is called "ever-green" T. P. O'Connor, as he is always so fresh, original and natural. At present he is away in America.

London,
2nd May, 1918.

THE MONUMENTS OF SANCHI

"There is a stern round tower of other days,
Firm as a fortress with its fence of stone,
Such as an army's baffled strength delays,
Standing with half its battlements alone.
And with two thousand years of ivy grown,
The garland of eternity,—where wave
The green leaves, over all by Time o'erthrown.
What treasure lay so locked, so hid? A hermit's
grave."
—Byron.

WHILE all else,—battlements, fortresses, and palaces of ancient India,—have been completely swept away by Time, without leaving behind a vestige of their existence, some of the hermits' graves may still be met with amidst the ruins. Such are the principal monuments of Sanchi.

Sanchi, a small village on the saddle of a low hill in the Diwangunj Sub-Division of the Bhopal State, has come to enjoy a world-wide celebrity on account of the matchless monuments in its neighbourhood, universally recognised as the most magnificent examples of ancient Indian Architecture. This place now occupies a convenient situation for a station on the G. I. P. Railway, and stands in the environs of the once populous city of Bidisa, the ancient capital of Eastern Malwa,—well-known to Samskrta scholars as the scene of a drama of Kalidasa.

Very little information about these monuments is, however, available in ancient Indian literature or in the writings of the Buddhist Pilgrims from China. General Taylor, of the Bengal Cavalry, encamped near this place during the campaign against the Pindharis in 1818, was perhaps the first British officer to visit these monuments. The discovery, thus left entirely to chance, brought in its train more ravages from the hand of Man than from that of Time. Many hasty excavations, by bungling antiquaries or greedy searchers for coins, precipitated the dilapidation of several important structures, which had been still in tact in the beginning of the last century. An inscribed stone-pillar, set up by Asoka, was broken into pieces by a local Zamindar that he might utilise the shaft in a sugarcane press! Thus continued to perish the monuments, which represented the art and achievements of the people during an epoch of nearly fourteen hundred years of their unrecorded past,—a past which approximately synchronised with the rise and fall of Buddhism in the land of its birth.

The first service for the preservation of these ancient monuments, carried out by the Government of India, was, however,

partly insufficient and unhappily inefficient. To the generosity of the noble-minded Ruler of Bhopal, the celebrated Nawab Sultan Jehan Begum Sahiba,—and to the specially skilled experience of Sir John Marshall, Director General of Archaeology in India,—is due all that has at last been done in a scientific method to investigate and preserve what still endures of these interesting and instructive memorials of the past. This work has indeed been one of *Jirnoddhara*, rightly eulogised in Indian literature as more meritorious than original construction, conferring greater blessings upon the restorer than upon the builder :—

(i) According to the Devi Puranam—

सूत्राच्छतशुचं पुण्यं प्राप्तं वाष्णीच-कारकः ।
तस्मात् सन्मप्रयत्नेन जीर्णोद्धारमाचरेत् ॥

(ii) According to the Hayasirsha Pancharatnam—

वाष्णी-कूप-तट्टागानां सुरभाम्नां तद्यानघ ।
प्रतिमानां सभानाच संकल्पो यो नरो भवेत् ।
पुण्यं शतशुचं तस्य भवेन्मूलाग्रं संश्रयः ॥

These texts, testifying to the devout interest once taken by the Indian people in the restoration and conservation of their public monuments, have now been more than amply borne out by the actual discovery of undeniable proofs of repeated restorations carried out by them even as late as the latest mediaeval period. This meritorious work, which had to be unavoidably abandoned and allowed to remain neglected during the long continuance of Mahomedan Rule, has now once more been resumed during enlightened British Rule with commendable earnestness and superior scientific skill. It is a happy sign of the times that not only the Begum Sahiba of Bhopal, but also another Mahomedan Ruler, His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad, have generously condescended to push forward this praiseworthy act of *Jirnoddhara* or restoration of ruined monuments of bygone days. All India must remain grateful to them and to Sir John for the timely inauguration of this scheme of archaeological excavation and conservation. Ancient Samskrita texts not only recommended such work as a pious act for ordinary individuals, but also in an indirect manner laid down the duties of the Ruler of the country in this

behalf. For, according to the Visnudharmottara,

यस्य राज्ञस्तु विषये देवदेवस्य विशीर्षाते ।

तस्य सौदति तद्वाजां देवदेवस्य यथा तथा ॥

These purports to lay down the maxim that the kingdom of the Ruler, who allows temples to fall into ruins, falls to pieces like the buildings in question. In the absence of more definite information, these texts give us a glimpse of the ideas and aspirations of the Indian people regarding the preservation of their national monuments. They will, therefore, be instinctively delighted to appreciate the modern endeavours in this behalf.

A guide to Sanchi by Sir John has just been published to give us a refreshing chapter of information about all up-to-date investigation, which is destined to throw useful light upon the earlier writings of Cunningham (1852), Fergusson (1868), Cole (1882), Maisey (1892), Burgess (1902) and others. More than ordinary interest is, therefore, attached to this latest publication, which places in the hands of the general reader the cream of the Official Annual Report of 1913-14.

In the short compass of 154 pages, the author has very thoughtfully inserted maps, plans and photographs in fifteen well-executed Plates, which have undoubtedly enhanced the value of the publication. The letter-press has been divided into ten chapters, supplemented by a short Bibliography and a brief sketch of the life of the Buddha with particular reference to the sculptures of Sanchi.

These monuments consist chiefly of the remains of Buddhist Stupas, Gates, Pillars, Temples and Monasteries, some of which have only been recently unearthed since 1912. Five years' judicious and painstaking labour has thus made Indian Archaeology justly proud of this praiseworthy achievement.

In one respect these memorials are all unique,—in that none of them is in any way connected with the life or acts of the Great Master. This may to some extent account for the absence of reference to them in the ancient writings of the country, which may be excused for taking little notice of this isolated neighbourhood of subordinate sanctity. Yet the pulse of the people throbbed here with no less vigour than elsewhere, inasmuch as their devotion left behind them lasting monuments to

bear eloquent testimony not only to their faith but also to the culture of which that faith was an outward manifestation.

"It is indeed a strange coincidence," observes Sir John, "that these remains should be at once the most magnificent and the most perfect examples of Indian Architecture." (P. 2) This might as well be due to the circumstance that this particular area enjoyed a freedom of construction which was unhampered by any primitive sacred models, like those which had been hastily set up by the faithful in all places sanctified by the Great Master himself. Situated far off from all such places of pilgrimage, Sanchi and its neighbourhood had to be satisfied with the commemoration of the devotion of lesser personages,—the saints and teachers of the faith. This was continued to be done during a long epoch of gradual development of art in a province, which, by its geographical situation, enjoyed greater facilities for enlarging its angle of vision than the tradition-bound insulated middle country (Madhya desa) of India.

The real key to the exceptional magnificence of the matchless monuments of Sanchi must, however, lie buried in its local history of which hardly anything more than the bare outlines is clearly visible in our day. In this state of limited knowledge, the earlier writers should have done well to remain more satisfied with their actual discoveries than with plausible interpretations which at first sight might appear to account for everything. Caution in Archaeology, as one of its first principles, was more ignored than recognised by most of these earlier writers whose attempted explanations, extremely fanciful in some cases, did, however, stimulate research and lead to discovery.

Time has now come when we may look forward with hope to an early publication of the promised special monograph, which is to be issued both in English and in French with numerous plates illustrating the whole series of these remarkable and richly decorated structures. Meanwhile the small "Guide to Sanchi," already before us, deserves a hearty welcome from all students of Indian History.

Chapter I—Topographical—of this Guide book deals with the old and modern sites. "The hill on which the monuments are clustered is not in any way remarkable." (P. 2) But near it grew up the

remarkable city of Bidisa, with its flourishing community of Buddhists, to whom the hill supplied convenient spots to build their monuments and monasteries,—"far from the madding crowds' ignoble strife," yet close by to attract hosts of devout worshippers.

When did these building works actually commence was a problem of local history, which could not be satisfactorily solved without searching excavations on the spot. While only a few monuments were hitherto visible to the eye, most of them were "buried in such deep accumulations of debris and so overgrown with jungle that the very existence of the majority of them had not even been suspected." Recent excavations have, therefore, opened a new vista through which posterity may hopefully look for reasonable solutions. The name of Sir John Marshall is thus destined to be inseparably connected with all future investigations regarding these memorials of the past.

The main ancient approach from the city, shewn in Plate XIV, will have to be looked upon as an important guide to old topography, as it was by this approach that the pilgrims from the city reached the Great Stupa as it stood in their day. It came "direct from the north-east" by the edge of an old tank, which now goes by the name of the "Purainia talab."

Chapter II—Historical and Artistic—is the most interesting chapter, in which an account of local history has been interwoven with the author's views on the origin and development of Indian Art. This chapter, however, suffers from extreme conciseness, inasmuch as it raises many important issues for a full discussion of which one must wait till the publication of the special monograph. For the sake of this conciseness, the long history of Sanchi has also been compressed into three periods only—"the first extending from the reign of Asoka to the overthrow of the Kshatrapa power about 400 A. D. by Chandragupta II; the second from the advent of the Imperial Guptas to the death of the Emperor Harsha in 647 A. D.; and the third embracing the late mediaeval period down to the close of the twelfth century." (P. 7)

In this first or early period the name of Sanchi is not known; that of another place Kakanada is known only from

inscriptions; while that of Chetiyagiri from the Mahavamsa,—the Buddhist Chronicle of Ceylon—was once supposed to be known. The authority of this Chronicle, regarding the origin of the monuments of Sanchi, is not, however, free from doubt, inasmuch as it rests entirely upon a tradition, which has been found to possess more than one version. Be that as it may, the archaeological remains have induced Sir John Marshall to declare with some definiteness that "the history of Sanchi starts during the reign of Asoka in the third century B. C." (P. 7) Burgess in his paper on "The Great Stupa at Sanchi-Kanakheda," (published in the J. R. A. S. 1902, pp. 29-45) came to the same conclusion, although he thought that the Great Stupa itself (as it stands in our day) belonged to the reign of Asoka. He evidently overlooked the circumstance that the present "confined and awkward positions of the Asoka-pillar in the angle of the balustrade by the side of the south gateway," would make his supposition highly improbable. It had been discovered as early as 1822 that "the core of the structure was composed of solid bricks laid in mud." The addition of the stone envelope increased the diameter of the Stupa to over 120 feet and its height to about 54 feet. It is, therefore, clear that this addition of a stone-encasement was made, as an act of restoration, after the pillar of Asoka had been set up near the original brick-built Stupa. The history of Sanchi must have, therefore, started with the construction of the original Stupa of bricks. Was it before or during the reign of Asoka? We have hardly any written record to answer this question.

Here Sir John has very cautiously expressed an opinion to the effect that the original Stupa of brick was most probably built by Asoka at the same time as the column was erected." (P. 31) This opinion seems to be chiefly based upon the size of the bricks (16"×10"×3") which "correspond approximately in size with the bricks in other structures of the Maurya epoch." (P. 32) In this connection the text of the inscription on the pillar set up by Asoka might also have been taken into consideration. This inscription proclaimed the same pious commands which were proclaimed at Sarnath and Kausambi, viz., "the monk or nun who shall cause

divisions in the Sangha shall be compelled to put on white robes and to reside apart." (P. 93) This may indicate the existence of a Sangha near Sanchi, like the Sanghas at Sarnath and Kausambi, of sufficient importance to make Asoka anxious to select this place also as one of the necessary sites for the proclamation of his edict. It may, therefore, appear more probable that the Sangha near Sanchi had its centre of attraction in a Stupa of some sort, with which must have started the real history of this locality from before the age of Asoka than that Asoka himself had caused the first Stupa to be built. In the absence of direct evidence to support the erection of the brick Stupa by Asoka himself, this probability seems to be further strengthened by the fact that Stupa-building did not originate in the reign of this monarch. The division of ashes of the Buddha, for being enshrined in Stupas at different places, indicated the prevalence of the practice even in the days of the Great Master. If we have as yet met with no such structures of undoubted pre-Asokan period, we have at least good grounds to suppose that they actually existed and that their ruins may yet be discovered. But in our present state of knowledge one need not seriously dispute the tentative opinion of Sir John. In this connection it may, however, be noticed that Sir John raised an expectation by the observation that "there is good evidence, as we shall presently see, to show that the Buddhists established themselves at Sanchi for the first time during the life-time of Asoka" (pp. 8 & 9); but this expectation has not been adequately fulfilled in any subsequent portion of the Guide-book.

The discovery in Stupa 3 of the relics of Sariputra and Mahamagalana, two disciples and companions of the Buddha, who laid down their earthly frames before their Master, might lead to an inference that their relics were enshrined near Sanchi as soon as they had departed this life. But structural proofs could not support such an inference. The core of the Stupa 3, in which their relics lay enshrined, was not composed of bricks like that of the Great Stupa. It was "homogeneous throughout, and composed of heavy unwrought blocks mixed with sparl." The enshrinement of the relics of these disciples of the Buddha cannot, therefore, be ascribed to an age prior to that in which this stone-Stupa

was built. It was built evidently after Asoka, almost contemporaneously with the encasement of the original Great Stupa in stone. The enshrinement of the relics of two persons in one Stupa naturally tends to show that their relics must have been collected from two original contemporaneous Stupas now buried in oblivion. If they existed anywhere near about Sanchi, the Sangha of this place would justly claim a greater antiquity than that of the age of Asoka.

Even if the history of Sanchi be taken, for the sake of convenience, to have started in the reign of Asoka, as surmised by Sir John, we have in its interesting neighbourhood many remains of Indian architecture, which go back to more than two thousand years. It is no wonder, therefore, that Sanchi has come to engage the earnest attention of the learned world for the study of the origin and development of Indian art and architecture in stone.

The real origin of Indian art is, however, still buried in oblivion. Nothing deserving the name of a work of art has yet been discovered which can be referred with confidence to a time prior to that of Asoka. Yet it must be admitted that his father and grandfather, nay, many others who ruled over the country before them, must surely have built palaces, public offices, and devotional edifices suitable to their dignity, and proportionate to their affluence. That no trace of them seems to survive may best be explained by the supposition that all such early works of architecture must have been constructed of perishable materials like wood, which was so easily available in all parts of India. There is yet another reason to rely upon the existence of an earlier art. The art of the Asokan age is a "mature art," which tends to show that Indian art had an earlier history. Prof. Percy Gardner observes that the art of Asoka was "in some respects more mature than the Greek art of the time, though, of course, far inferior to it, at least in our eyes." As it is now impossible to trace in detail the stages of the growth of this art, we must be content with that on which we can lay our hands with certainty. They belong almost exclusively to the age of Asoka, during which the adoption of stone as the most suitable material seems to have been made. This might be due to some extent to that noble monarch's commendable zeal to leave be-

hind him monuments intended to last as long as "the Sun and the Moon should endure" in the heavens; but it might very largely be due also to the living examples of memorials in stone then existing in other countries to which Asoka sent his missionaries. Art as an exponent of a nation's ideas and aspirations, must, however, be necessarily indigenous." Substantial originality of Indian art must, therefore, be accepted as a general result of examination of all foreign influence. That foreign example made wood to be gradually replaced by stone would not materially affect the case.

From remotest antiquity, the Indian people have always been primarily noted for plain living and high thinking. This was more so in the earlier epochs of their history. Their artistic conceptions were, therefore, naturally manifested more in minute ornamentation than in any form of ostentatious building-work. The goldsmith, the ivory-monger, and the wood-carver practically represented the chief agency through the exertions of which Indian art continued to develop, giving rise to what may be called the Early Indian School of Art. As soon as their art-instinct received a new impetus to manifest itself in ostentatious building-works, their first attempt must have remained satisfied for a time with the immediate need of the age. The origin of Indian architecture was thus primarily indigenous. Its forms have long been recognised and admitted to be particularly Indian. It was composed chiefly of wood and brick in the early stage of its development. As soon again as an active intercourse came to be established with the outer world during the reign of Asoka, Indian art received a fresh impetus to develop itself with the help of a new material—stone—to suit the requirements of architecture and sculpture of a more lasting type than that which already existed in the country. Even here the carpenter's devices continued for a long time to influence all work in stone, as may be noticed in the Gates near Sanchi. The art of this age was no doubt characterised by its "frank naturalism," giving us a reflection, as in a mirror, of the social and religious life of India, which it primarily attempted to immortalise in stone. But it also betrayed from the first some tendency to lapse ultimately into an equally frank idealism.

"The indigenous art in the time of

Asoka," observes Sir John, "was still in the rudimentary state, when the sculptor could not grasp more than one aspect of his subject at a time, when the 'law of frontality' was still binding upon him, and when the 'memory picture' had not yet given place to direct observation of nature." (P. 10) This opinion seems to have taken it for granted that in the reign of Asoka the true sculptor had already replaced the time-honoured wood-carver of India.

The only authentic example of Asokan art at Sanchi, which may be cited without hesitation, is, however, the Edict-bearing pillar standing near the south gate of the Great Stupa. It cannot bear out the above observation. This pillar is of peculiar interest both for its material and workmanship. The sandstone block, out of which it was carved, "came from the quarries of Chunar, several hundred miles away." The task of shifting so ponderous a mass and of hoisting it up the steep hill-side of Sanchi "was one, of which any engineer might well be proud." (P. 93) When intact, it was about 42 feet in height, and "consisted of a round and slightly tapering monolithic shaft, with bell-shaped capital surmounted by an abacus and a crowning ornament of four lions, set back to back, the whole finely finished and polished to a remarkable lustre from top to bottom." (P. 91) If this pillar was the product of indigenous art, it could not have been "still in the rudimentary state."

Sir John is, however, of opinion, like some other European scholars, that this pillar is the handiwork of a Perso-Greek sculptor "who had generations of artistic effort behind him," (p. 92) so that its existence in India could not be inconsistent with the rudimentary state of the purely Indian art of its age. Several pieces of a stone umbrella, probably belonging to the original Great Stupa of brick, found by Sir John, have been described by him as specimens of exceptional artistic merit, "displaying all that exquisite precision which characterises every known specimen of the mason's craft in the Maurya age, and which has probably never been surpassed in the stone carving of any country." (P. 32) This excellence of the umbrella has not, however, been ascribed to foreign workmanship. It is, therefore, difficult to reconcile the praise bestowed

upon it with the opinion that "in the time of Asoka, indigenous art was still in the rudimentary state." The other opinion, that the pillar is the handiwork of a Perso-Greek sculptor, seems to be based upon the following data :—

(i) Persian or Greek influence is, indeed, apparent in every feature of the monument as well as in the edict incised upon it. It has long been known, of course, that the decrees of the Achæmenian monarchs engraved on the rocks of Behistun and elsewhere furnished models on which the edicts of Asoka are based.

(ii) It was in Persia also that the bell-shaped capital was evolved.

(iii) It was from Persian originals, specimens of which are still extant in the plain of the Murghab,—at Istakhr, Naksh-i-Rustam, and Persepolis, that the smooth unfluted shafts of the Mauryan columns were copied.

(iv) It was from Persia again that the craftsmen employed by Asoka learnt to give so lustrous a polish to the stone,—a technique of which abundant examples survive at Persepolis and elsewhere.

(v) Lastly, it was to Persia, or, to be more precise, to that part of it which was once the satrapy of Bactria, and was at this time asserting its independence from the Empire of the Seleukids, that we must look for the Hellenistic influence, which alone, at this epoch of the world's history, could have been responsible for the modelling of the living forms on this pillar at Sanchi, or on the still more magnificent pillar of Asoka at Sarnath. (P. 92)

These data, taken singly or collectively, without any dispute as to correctness, may raise a presumption in favour of an influence of foreign examples. They can, however, hardly supply unquestionable premises for an inevitable conclusion that the pillar "is the handiwork of a Perso-Greek sculptor," unless we are forced to acknowledge that the truly Indian art of the period was "still in the rudimentary state."

If it was really so, there would be every reason to accept this conjecture as almost inevitable. But adequate proof has yet to be disclosed and discussed. In the absence of such proof, this conjecture may be accepted only upon the authority of the varied experience of the learned author, in the hope of meeting with more elaborate exposition in the promised monograph.

On the death of Asoka the Empire of the Mauryas fell rapidly to pieces; and ultimately their throne passed to the Sungas, whose power endured for a little over a century. Regarding the art of this period Sir John is of a different opinion. "It is," he says, "essentially indigenous in character, and, though stimulated and inspired by extraneous teaching, is in no sense mimetic. Its national and independent character is attested not merely by its methodical evolution on Indian soil, but by the wonderful sense of decorative beauty which pervaded it and which from first to last has been the heritage of Indian art." (P. 12) A curiosity naturally arises as to what contributed so rapidly to such wonderful advancement of Indian art, if it was only a few decades ago "still in the rudimentary state."

On the decline of the power of the Sungas, the Andhras are known to have extended their sway over eastern Malwa for two or three decades before the Christian era. "It was under this dynasty," says Sir John, "that the early school of Indian art achieved its zenith, and that the most splendid structures of Sanchi were erected, viz.—the four gateways of the Great Stupa, and the single gateway of the third Stupa." (P. 12)

The materials for a critical study of this early school of Indian art are barely sufficient to enable us to do more than lay down the outlines of its history, subject to modifications in the light of every newly discovered example. A few specimens of this art have survived the ravages of time, while a great majority of them, in less durable materials than stone, must have perished for ever. The remains of Sanchi are, therefore, of peculiar interest; for, it is here that, from a careful study of what exists, we may make a reasonable guess regarding the details of the stages through which art had gradually advanced.

In this connection a further observation of Sir John will be found to be interesting and instructive. "That Hellenistic and western Asiatic art affected the early Indian school during the Andhra even more intimately than it had done during the Sunga period," says Sir John, "is clear from the many extraneous motifs in these reliefs, e.g., from the familiar bell-capital of Persia, from the floral designs of Assyria,

or from the winged monsters of western Asia; and it is clear also from the individuality of many of the figures, e.g., of the hill-men riders on the eastern gate, from the symmetrical character of some of the compositions, and from the 'colouristic' treatment, with its alternation of light and dark, which was peculiarly characteristic of Greco-Syrian art of this period." (P. 14)

These descriptions relate more to the letter than to the spirit of the art of this period. They have, therefore, been supplemented by a considerate observation that "though western art evidently played a prominent part in the evolution of the early Indian school, we must be careful not to exaggerate its importance. The artists of early India were quick with the versatility of all true artists to profit by the lessons which others had to teach them; but there is no more reason in calling their creations Persian or Greek, than there would be in designating the modern fabric of St. Paul's Italian. The art which they practised was essentially a national art, having its roots in the heart and in the faith of the people, and giving eloquent expression to their spiritual beliefs and to their deep and intuitive sympathy with nature. True alike from artificiality and idealism, its purpose was to glorify religion, not by seeking to embody spiritual ideas in terms of form, as the mediæval art of India did, but by telling the story of Buddhism or Jainism in the simplest and most expressive language which the chisel of the sculptor could command. And it was just because of its simplicity and transparent sincerity that it voiced so truthfully the soul of the people, and still continues to make an instant appeal to our feelings." (Pp. 14 & 15)

It has not, however, been clearly demonstrated how or why these observations cannot as well be applicable to the Indian art of the Asokan period. The "round and slightly tapering" monolithic shaft of Asoka may agree as well with the definition of a Mahastambha of the Vritta type as laid down in the Vastusastram. There is evidently no special feature in this shape, which may be deemed inconsistent with purely Indian origin. Wooden pillars were already in use in connection with Vedic ceremonies. Indeed the evolution of the shape of a pillar in the land of palm-groves might very naturally adopt this shape,—

"round and slightly tapering" towards the top. The "bell-shaped" capital, ascribed to foreign imitation, does not disclose the real shape of a bell. "It is somewhat like a bell in shape," as noted by Cunningham (Bhilsa Topes, p. 194), "but with a greater swell near the top." If this was the shape of the *ghanta* (bell) in those days, it could not have been unfamiliar to the Indian artist. It rather agrees with an inverted Padma-kumbha, regarded as an auspicious symbol from hoary antiquity and recommended as a suitable ornament of pillars. The lotus (padma), the national flower of India, is responsible for the evolution of so many fantastic conventional types, that this type of capital may easily have been one of them. The fine finish and polish (due to the application of a paste, the Vajra-lepa, described in detail by Varaha-Mihira), appear to be more Indian than foreign inasmuch as the ingredients are mostly indigenous to India. It may, therefore, be premature to call it foreign before the ingredients have been properly analysed by competent experts.

The capital of the Asoka-pillar, like its shaft, is monolithic. It is composed of three members,—the capital proper, an abacus above it, and a crowning piece at its top. The so-called "bell-shaped" member had hardly anything in it which could surpass the skill of Indian artists. But the abacus had something in it which could not be successfully executed by a foreigner. It was decorated on its edge with bas relief designs of purely Indian origin. The crowning piece, a sculpture in the round, represented either a sacred symbol like the wheel, or a symbolical animal or group of animals,—the Elephant, the Bull, the Horse, and the Lion. The ability of an Asiatic Greek to represent these Indian animals so well may very well be doubted. This doubt induced Vincent Smith to hesitate to accept the conjecture of Sir John that the composition might be the work of an Asiatic Greek. He was accordingly obliged to modify it by another conjecture,—"that the brilliant work typified by the Sarnath Capital may have been designed in its main lines by foreign artists acting under the orders of Asoka, while all the details were left to the taste of Indian workmen, much in the same way as long afterwards the Kutab Minar was designed by a Mahomedan architect and built by

Hindu Masons, under the orders of the Sultan Iyaltimish." It is hardly necessary to note that this conjecture is more clumsy than reasonable. The skill with which the Indian artists incised the beautiful inscriptions of Asoka, either on native rock or on artificial stone-pillars, would disclose their dexterity in manipulation which might also be credited with an equal capacity for carving out the pillar, even if the main idea had been actually suggested by any foreign example.

The development of Indian art may be studied from another standpoint,—the development of Indian life rather than the facilities of intercourse with foreign lands. The archaeological remains of India, gradually unearthed and illustrated with commendable skill, are daily placing before us valuable materials for an independent research from this standpoint.

The rule of the Andhras in eastern Malwa was finally overthrown by the great satrap Rudradamana, after which Sanchi and Bidisa remained in possession of the western Kshatrapas until the close of the fourth century, when Malwa was annexed to the Gupta Empire. Here then was a period of foreign occupation during which an active intercourse was maintained with north-western countries, for a longer period than in the reign of Asoka. Indian art did not flourish with this foreign connection, nay, it remained all through these centuries "at a relatively low ebb." Buddhism showed no signs of low vitality to account for this stagnation of art.

The rule of the Guptas came with a new spirit. It marked the most brilliant epoch of Indian history. The effect of the intellectual vitality of this age was conspicuous and far reaching. The Imperial idea, lying dormant since the downfall of the Maurya Empire, was once more resuscitated; and the whole of northern India, as far south as the Narmada, was once more consolidated into a powerful empire, marked by a re-awakening,—a true Renaissance. In dealing with the history of this epoch, Sir John observes with genuine appreciation, that "the new intellectualism was reflected in architecture and the formative arts as much as in other spheres of knowledge and thought." (Pp. 19-20).

This Renaissance did not, however, come quickly to an end with the break up

of the Gupta power, although for a time northern India lay bleeding under the feet of the blood-thirsty Huns until their despotism was effectively shattered by the final overthrow of Mihiragula. Sir John has rightly discovered that here there was a period of quiescence during which the people retained sufficient vitality which only needed the agency of a strong national central power to make them what they were. Harsha made an attempt in that behalf with partial success for a while, after which came the gradual fall and inevitable stagnation. It was eastern India, the kingdom of Bengal, which made a subsequent attempt in the same direction, but it had no connection with the history of Sanchi.

Thus it may appear almost self-evident that the real secret of the history of Indian art, of its rise and fall, lay in the life of the people more than in any extraneous influence of foreign example. There were two powerful Empires,—one of the Mauryas and another of the Guptas. The first enjoyed a greater extent of territory and larger spheres of influence in foreign lands than the second. Yet Indian art advanced more rapidly in the second than in the first. May it be that the life of the people in the first had less spontaneous national awakening than the life of the people in the second? Time has now come when all India will look forward to Sir John Marshall and to his learned colleagues to discover in their promised joint monographs the real merit of Indian art from the standpoint of the life of the Indian people as evidenced by their literature and art.

Whatever impetus Indian art might have received during the reign of Asoka, it was, like the spread of Buddhism, practically dominated by the strong will of that benevolent autocrat rather than by the natural upheaval of national life. The first efforts of Indian art to manifest its achievements in stone necessarily received substantial encouragement from Buddhism and its great supporter. Side by side with this there must have existed artistic manifestations in older and more perishable materials than stone in Hindu and Jaina architecture and sculpture. That the earliest available examples relate almost exclusively to Buddhism need not necessarily raise any presumption that Indian art owed its real origin to that

faith. As Buddhism was a growth of Indian culture, so Buddhist art, as it is loosely called, was a development of Indian art. In both there was a natural tendency to adopt everything which was not fundamentally inconsistent with the new doctrines.

The Sanchi sculptures, examined from this standpoint, may disclose the adoption of many well-known traditional symbols. The universal chakra (wheel), the trisula (trident), kalasa (pitcher), and the padma (lotus) are there. The volute ends of the architraves of the magnificent gates may be easily recognised as instances of the adoption of another well-known auspicious symbol,—the Srivatsa. The sacred animals in the round, placed in the open spaces between the uprights separating the architraves, indicate the same purpose. All these symbols have not as yet been exhaustively examined, while some have been sought to be explained as peculiarly Buddhist.

The seated female figure, flanked by two elephants pouring water over her, hitherto identified with the image of Sri, the goddess of prosperity, has now come for the first time to be discovered and recognised by M. Foucher as an image of Mayadevi, the mother of the Buddha.

In this latest attempt to interpret the sculpture with a Buddhist leaning, the critic has been obliged to suppose (i) that the two elephants really represent the two Nagas, who, according to the Buddhist Scriptures, bathed the new-born babe; and also to suppose (ii) that instead of doing that duty, these Nagas, "in the form of elephants," were pouring water over the mother, because, up to the time of the erection of these gates, the figure of the Son had not come to be represented by human form, but only by symbols, such as his foot-prints, his seat, his tree of knowledge, or his Stupa, to account for his presence. In this connection it may be interesting to enquire whether in the age of the construction of these gates, the tradition about the Nagas bathing the new-born Buddha had gained sufficient currency. It may be equally interesting to enquire that while the Nagas appeared as Nagas in other scenes, what artistic reason made them appear in the form of elephants in this particular scene; and that why Mayadevi was represented in a seated posture like Sri instead of in the standing

one in which she was well-known to have given birth to the Buddha.

The alleged figure of Maya may be examined in the light of the description of Sri as noted in the Matsya Puranam, chapter 261. The reproduction of this scene by Prof. Grünwedel agrees better with the Pauranika description of Sri than with any known description of Mayadevi. There is not only one but several lotuses, in various stages of development, to indicate the favourite environment of the lotus throne of Sri. A pair of foot-prints, a single tree with or without a seat under it, a single horse, and a single Stupa, may very well stand forth as happy symbols of the presence of the Buddha. But the lotus to indicate his birth is not so self-evident. Even if it were so, multiplicity of lotuses near about the seated female figure would defeat the proposed purpose of the symbol.

The identification of this scene with the pictorial representation of the birth of the Buddha, will appear to every Indian as a far-fetched imagination,—more ingenious than sublime. For, there would be questionable artistic reason to indicate birth by an after-birth incident, although death might be very appropriately represented by the funeral pyre or the sepulchre raised over the ashes. Birth to the Indian is a happy expectation which loses its æsthetic charm by a realistic representation. The Gandhara-style was in this respect decidedly non-Indian.*

The study of Indian Iconography is still in its infancy. In the eagerness to arrive at an interpretation it is still liable to lead us astray,—sometimes very far off indeed from the real basis of idealisation upon which the representations were originally based. However fantastic the ultimate development may appear to us in the present age, the original conception centered round an initial idea which was not only simple, and primitive, but also self-evident to the people.

* This gross realistic representation of the birth of the Buddha was modified in course of its Indianisation by the Bengal school of sculptors as may be noticed in a specimen collected and deposited in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society. The Mother there stands in the conventionalised posture, with the right hand catching hold of the branch of a tree, and the left placed round the shoulder of a female attendant. The child is shown on the right side at the level of the waist of the mother; but the actual process of miraculous delivery is not shown at all.

The iconography of the reliefs, inserted in the Guide book, is based upon a note sent to the author by M. Foucher whose brilliant labours have placed the meaning of the sculptures beyond dispute. But there is in some cases, as in the above instance, still room for doubt, which has to be cleared up.

The abacus-reliefs and the crowning figures of Asokan pillars, though slightly different in different specimens, appear to possess a symbolic character, which has not as yet been adequately explained. The abacus of the Lauriya-Nandangarh pillar is "decorated by a row of flying sacred geese." The abaci of the pillars at Allahabad, Sankisa, and Rampurwa "exhibit elegant designs composed of the lotus and palmette or honeysuckle." The Sanchi pillar has on the edge of its abacus four pairs of chakravak birds (Anas Casarca). A horse once crowned the pillar at Rummindei, the Lumbini garden. The Sankisa pillar exhibits an elephant, now unhappily badly mutilated. The two pillars at Rampurwa bear the bull and lion respectively. The Sarnath and Sanchi pillars had four lions sitting back to back. Vincent Smith offered an explanation that "the elephant represented the guardian of the east, the horse of the south, the bull of the west, and the lion of the north." All these four animals are, however, carved in relief on the sides of the Sarnath abacus. They do not appear to bear out the above explanation.

The lion was identified with Atman (आत्मन्) in the Rig Veda. It was subsequently used as a symbol of the Buddha, probably by way of an adaptation of the Vedic symbolism. But the four lions at Sarnath and Sanchi could hardly have been used as symbols of the Buddha. The Sarnath abacus may in this connection suggest a clue.

Even in our own day the pitha (pedestal) of the image is supposed to rest ultimately upon eight legs, four of which are placed in the directions of N. E., N. W., S. W. and S. E., and are represented by Aisvaryam (affluence), Vairagyam (attachmentlessness), Jnanam (knowledge) and Dharma (religion). These abstract ideas are respectively represented by the material forms of a black elephant, yellow horse (?), green lion and red bull. Thus,—

रक्तं धर्मं ह्यष्टतनुशायी हरिं ज्ञानवर्धनं ।

श्वानं रत्नं दिशि नवति पीतं वैराग्यसंज्ञम् ।

भूताकारं विरदतनुम शृङ्गानौशि च कण्ठं
नज्-पूष्यं स्तुभैजतु दिशि चिन्ताचि गात्राणि पौठे ॥

—Prapanchasara, VI. 20.

Here the lion is a symbol of knowledge. From a verse quoted by Hemadri in his *Vratakhanda* (chapter I) the lion would appear to have once stood as a symbol, not only of knowledge, but also of the three other abstract ideas noted above. Thus,—

धर्मं ज्ञानं च वरायामैश्वर्यं च तथैव हि ।

सितरत्नपौतकण्ठ-सिंहद्वपाः प्रकीर्त्तिताः ॥

May it be that the four crowning lions of the Sarnath pillar indicated the same symbolism as the four animals on the abacus purported to disclose? The position assigned to these animals on the abacus should be studied in this connection before the surmise of Vincent Smith can be accepted as satisfactory.

The evolution of the ultimate shape, as evidenced by the Great Stupa of Sanchi, has yet to be accounted for. Even in our own day, in places far off from the Ganges, a piece of charred bone from the funeral pyre is carefully secured by the orthodox Hindu and kept buried in his courtyard under a small tumulus of earth until suitable arrangements are made to consign the sacred relic to the holy stream. This humble tumulus of earth appears to have supplied the primitive model which led to the gradual development of the full-grown Buddhist Stupa. It came ultimately to consist of a *medhi* (a high terrace) rising from the ground up to some height round a lofty *anda* (dome) nearly hemispherical in shape with a *harmika* (pedestal) on which stood the umbrellas. The two paths, one on the ground level, and another on the terrace, intended to facilitate *pradakshina* (going round from left to right), appear to have been subsequent additions to the original model.

The august simplicity of the lofty dome as well as the series of umbrellas appear to suggest their symbolic character. May it be that the original shape of the Stupa gradually developed into a sacred symbol to indicate the three worlds and the *Nirvana-loka* of the Buddhists by the four distinct architectural devices of the *medhi*, and a *harmika*, and *chhatravali*? The original object of enshrining a sacred relic in a simple tumulus of earth might have been gradually associated with the further

object of developing the shape as a symbol to represent the faith and its particular transcendental philosophy. As divine architecture in ancient India was the handmaid of religion, it must have been more or less symbolic in its character, which left a limited freedom to the artist to follow the unfettered dictate of his craft. His apparent incapacity in any respect from a purely architectural point of view might have been due in a great measure to this unavoidable obligation to supply the requirements of the creed. Before these points are adequately cleared up, the real merit of Indian ancient art will remain liable to be under-estimated by a mere comparative study with the help of specimens from the different parts of the civilised world.

The real work for which the name of Sir John Marshall is destined to be associated with Sanchi is not, however, one of interpretation, but of discovery, which has thrown much new light upon the subject. With his varied experience and consummate skill, Sir John has happily combined a sympathetic frame of mind, which makes him take a genuine interest in his work, with a scrupulous regard for accurate procedure. This work has been not only arduous, but extremely difficult, requiring unflinching resoluteness to bring it to a successful termination. In the absence of written records, these remains are now the chief materials for constructing a history of ancient India. The discovery of these tangible proofs of a nation's activities in successive epochs required more discrimination than mere manual skill. It is here that Sir John has given proofs of his rare ability, which has manifested itself in the remaining chapters of the Guide Book. The work of conservation has been no less painstaking than that of excavation. Most important and most difficult of achievement, which this task entailed, have been "first, the dismantling and reconstruction of the south-west quadrant of the Great Stupa, which was threatening to collapse and to bring down with it south and west gateways as well as the balustrade between them; secondly, the preservation of Temple 18, the ponderous columns of which were leaning at perilous angles, and had to be reset in the perpendicular and established on secure foundations; and thirdly, the repair of Temple 45, which had reached the last stage of

decay, and was a menace to any one entering its shrine." (P. 29)

"A small but adequate museum" is already in course of construction for the purpose of "protecting the numerous moveable antiquities which lay scattered about the site," where the visitor will find sculptures, inscriptions and architectural fragments to assist him in the study of the unique monuments of Sanchi. The im-

provement and beautification of the area around the Great Stupa by "roughly leveling and turfing it, and by the planting of trees and flowering creepers" have now made the impenetrable forest a garden of pleasure,—a fit environment of the remains, which testify to the aesthetic culture of ancient India.

A. K. MAITRA.

AUSTRALIA AND INDIA

IT is time that the legend current in India about Australia was exploded and in this article I shall do my best to bring about the explosion.

The legend briefly is this, that Australia is just as bad as South Africa in its treatment of Indians. The truth is, that in this respect there is an entire psychological difference between the two countries. I have lived in both places in company with Indians and I can speak from personal experience. In what follows, I shall relate what I have seen with my own eyes and heard with my own ears and I can vouch for its general accuracy.

Before proceeding, I should add that in South Africa itself, which is a vast country, a distinction must be made. In Cape Town and throughout Cape Colony there are much fairer conditions than in Natal and the Transvaal and Orange Free State,—just as, I believe, there is far greater friendliness to Indians in the Eastern States of Canada than in British Columbia. If I may judge from what I have read and seen, it is in the southern part of the United States, in British Columbia, and in South Africa, that the colour prejudice,—which is a direct denial of our common humanity,—exists in its most repulsive form to-day. I feel certain from what I have seen that it would be wrong to add Australia to this list.

In spite of very harsh economic exclusion laws, I have found in Australia very little arrogance and prejudice in the *personal* treatment of other races. I do not wish to give more credit for this than is

deserved : it is probably due to an almost entire lack of contact and not to any special innate virtue. If the 'problem of the negro' had been present in Australia as acutely as in America, I could not vouch for what would have happened to kindly human sentiment. The earlier treatment of the Australian aborigines and the ruthless exploitation of Kanakas in Queensland have left stains upon the history of the colonisation of the South Pacific which cannot easily be obliterated. And the brutalities of traders in the Islands are by no means merely a thing of the past, though public opinion is now ranged strongly against them.

Yet, in spite of very much that is still unquestionably evil, I would repeat that the personal attitude of Australians, on the whole, towards members of other races is neither harsh nor intolerant. There is a rapidly growing sentiment in favour of humanity and equal treatment. With regard to the aborigines this sentiment has taken the form of almost indiscriminate charity. Once I travelled with an aboriginal and his wife, who were very helpless and destitute and by no means cleanly, and I saw how Australians befriended them at every turn,—paid their fare, sat with them, gave them tea and food at the different stations. They were treated by every one almost like spoilt children. In New Zealand I have seen the Maories (who are a far superior race) treated in a similar manner. I remember, for instance, on the long journey from Wellington to Auckland, how one Maori,

who was quite drunk, kept walking up and down the passage between the seats, bargaining and knocking against the passengers. I expected to hear a chorus of angry remonstrances, but it was all tolerated with good humour and there was not the least sign of resentment.

But to come at once to salient facts relating to the treatment of Indians. First of all, I met Indian soldiers in Australia who had been accepted and welcomed into the Australian army on exactly the same terms as Australians themselves. They were receiving the same liberal pay (nearly 140 rupees a month); they were dining at the same mess and sharing the same tents. These Indian soldiers obtained exactly the same pension and invalid allowances, in case they were wounded or invalided, and they had the same opportunity for getting commissions in the Australian army with Australians themselves.

I had ample time to talk with these Indian soldiers, privately and separately, and they were warm in their praises of the equality of treatment which they had received. One soldier whom I met was a man of property, owning seven thousand acres of land, and when I told him about some Sikhs in Fiji who were old soldiers and desired to go to the front, he at once offered to bring them over, at his own expense, and enlist them in the Australian army. He would never have done this, if he had been dissatisfied with the conditions of the Australian army service. I found, in New Zealand, that the Maories had been enlisted in the same way. Once, in a mess room of returned Australian soldiers, I asked about some disturbances which had happened in Egypt among the Anzacs.—“Why!” said one of them to me, “they started calling our Maories ‘niggers’ and we wasn’t going to stand that!”

I do not, of course, guarantee in any way the accuracy of this soldier’s statement, but the speech and tone were significant and the other soldiers present nodded their heads and expressed approval. Again and again, in the streets of Sydney and Melbourne, I have seen an Australian stop and shake vigorously by the hand some bearded Indian in a turban in memory of the days when they were fighting side by side with the Sikhs in France or at Suez. Once I watched, out of curiosity, and saw this happen three times in the space of a couple of hundred yards!

To turn to the more fundamental question of education. I found in Australia Indian children, the sons of indentured Indian parents, who had come over from Fiji. These were receiving a free education, side by side with Australian children, in the public schools. They mixed with, played with, made friends with Australian children in the ordinary, normal school-boy way, and were treated without any race distinction. I found that the same was the case in New Zealand. At Tamaranui, I spent the day with a group of Indians of the labouring class,—such as would be called coolies in India. These men were earning 250 rupees a month: their children were allowed to go to the public schools: they themselves had votes and full rights of citizenship and were admitted into a Labour Union. They told me how the Member of Parliament for their district had come down specially to visit them and to solicit their votes. They spoke to me, in Hindustani, with some amusement, concerning the efforts of the two rival candidates, at election time, to win them over.

During the visits I had to make in Fiji I met grown-up Indian men who were sitting side by side in class with little Indian children busily occupied in learning their alphabet, so that they might quickly obtain the very small amount of reading and writing necessary to gain admission into New Zealand. I saw a letter sent to Fiji by the New Zealand Government authorities stating, with regard to the admission of Indians into the country, that there was no necessity for the steamship companies to take any £100 bond or security, for there was only the one test, namely, ability to speak and write English. One of the finest Indian young men in Fiji had been sent to New Zealand for his education. His father was wealthy and had sent his boy to the best College in New Zealand, and his second son had gone later to the same College. I had the privilege of seeing some letters about these boys from their tutors and they were very pleasant reading.

I think I am right in saying that there has never been any restriction against educated Indians in New Zealand. The question of any large influx of Indians into that country has never been acute and those Indians who have settled there have become readily absorbed. But in Australia

the problem, during the time of the old indenture system, was always critical. It was one of the great issues between labour and capital. The capitalist was ever wishing to exploit indentured Indian and Chinese labour for his own ends, and the Australian Labour Party resisted this to the utmost in order to avoid the reduction of their own standard of living.

How great the danger of an influx of indentured Indian labourers was, in earlier days, I myself experienced in a somewhat dramatic way. I was invited down to Glenelg, near Adelaide, in South Australia, to spend the day with a very old man of 82 years of age, who had been one of the pioneers of modern Australia. In the afternoon we had a long talk about the conditions of labour under the indenture system in Fiji, and I noticed that he listened intently to what I had to say. At the end he turned to me, in his invalid chair, and said, "Do you know, Mr. Andrews, more than twenty years ago I was on the very verge of introducing indentured labour from India into Australia myself. I was Chairman of a large Syndicate established for that purpose and we had got permission from the Indian Government. But, at the last moment, there was some hitch in the business arrangement and the plan fell to the ground. I'm an old man now,—over eighty years of age,—and looking back I must say I cannot be too thankful that I haven't got *that* to answer for to my Maker when I meet my death."

I made full enquiries in Australia and it became more and more clear to me, that if the Labour organisations had not exercised their influence very strongly indeed, indentured labour from India would certainly have been introduced in the early years of the present century. And, at that time, the Indian Government was so supine and Indian politicians were so helpless that there would have been no serious opposition. All the moral evils of Fiji might have been repeated in Australia on a far larger scale, and a racial sentiment similar to that in South Africa might have grown up,—a sentiment of contempt and arrogance.

But fortunately for India and for humanity the democratic elements in Australia came to the front and these have influenced the politics of the country ever since. There have been evils,—terribly

serious evils,—under democracy, and selfish things have been done. The first Restriction Acts were of this selfish character; and the 'White Australia' cry has led again and again to coarsely brutal acts. The Chinese have suffered from these on more than one occasion. But there has been nothing so brutal and inhuman as the evils of sweated labour which the Australian Democracy has swept away.

The first Restriction Acts, as I have said, were almost wholly selfish. They gave the power to the people to exclude every one belonging to a foreign race, and they were specially directed against Asiatics. But one of Australia's greatest statesmen came into power,—not himself belonging to the Labour Party, but full of keen sympathy with the poor,—a man whom I can never forget,—Mr. Alfred Deakin. When Mr. W. W. Pearson went out with me for the first visit to Fiji, we had an introduction to him. He was in shattered health, owing to a nervous breakdown from over-work, but the moment he heard that we knew the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, he put on one side his doctor's prohibitions so as to meet us; and again, on the way back from Fiji, we had long conversations with him and he wished us God-speed in our longing desire for the complete and speedy abolition of indentured labour in Fiji. He wrote to me from time to time in India; and on my second visit to Australia I was received by him with a warmth of affection for the Indian people which touched me very deeply indeed. He was a complete invalid; but his interest in India and in the Fiji question was vivid and keen. It was Mr. Alfred Deakin, and others with him, who were able, in spite of opposition, to introduce the modifications of the Immigration Restriction Act in 1904. These permitted Indian merchants, students and tourists to enter Australia freely, without any restriction, provided they did not claim to be permanent residents. I have the actual documents with me, in my own possession, which show that from October 1904 there has been no barrier at all on the Australian side to the entrance of educated Indians into Australia. *This has been the actual Law of Australia ever since that date.*

There were two points in these Regulations on which I wished for information, and I went to the Department of External Affairs in Melbourne about them. The first

point was as to the nature of the passport which the Indian Government gave to a student desirous of going to Australia for study. I asked the Minister, Mr. Glynn, and his Secretary, Mr. Attlee Hunt, very precisely, whether this passport was for any other purpose except attestation that the immigrant belonged to one of the three classes of merchant, student, tourist. The answer was 'No.' It was pointed out to me that without such a passport it would be easy for Indian labourers to pass themselves off as students or tourists,—this danger had already been a very real one in the case of Chinese. The aim of the law was to give perfectly free and unrestricted access to Australia in the case of those educated Indians who wished to come over for a special purpose. They were anxious to welcome Indian students, both men and women.

The permanent secretary, Mr. Attlee Hunt, who was in office when the Act itself and its new modifying regulations were drawn up, gave me copies of the State papers and asked me very earnestly to go back to India and make the true situation known. Both he and Mr. Glynn gave me every opportunity of talking the whole matter over and entering into every particular. They were genuinely surprised that so little advantage had been taken by Indians of this offer of free entry, which had now been held out to Indian students by Australia for nearly fourteen years. They fully realised that the restrictions against Indian labourers must cause soreness among Indian thinkers, though they wished that Australian economic difficulties with regard to the cheapening of labour could be taken into account. But while they acknowledged that their Restriction Act was open to serious objection, yet they had done their best, they said, to modify it as far as they felt they could go safely. Nevertheless, they found, after fourteen years, that not a single Indian student had taken advantage of the modification! Mr. Attlee Hunt asked me, again and again, *why* this boycott of Australia by Indian students had taken place. I could only answer that every Indian student I had ever met was ignorant of the Law of Australia on the subject. The universal opinion was that Australia was a closed country—as tightly closed to educated Indians as South Africa. I told him also, quite frankly, that this

false impression had never been dissipated by the Indian Government.

After this, I had many opportunities of talking with the leading statesmen of Australia on both sides of the House. Their assurances were positive. The laws of Australia clearly and definitely admitted Indian students. If, therefore, Indian students came, in accordance with those laws, they would receive not only a welcome, but all the hospitality for which Australia is famous among western peoples.

As the question is so important, and at the same time so novel, I think it will be best to copy down the exact words of the Australian Commonwealth Regulations; they refer to Indian merchants, students and tourists:—

"On arrival in the Commonwealth the Education test prescribed by the Immigration Restriction Act will, in these cases, not be imposed *and such persons are to be allowed to land without restriction*; but in the event of their wishing to stay longer than twelve months, an application for a Certificate of Exemption for the desired term should be made before the expiry of such time, stating the reason for such extended stay."

In this last sentence occurs the second point to which I have referred above as needing explanation. I mentioned to Mr. Attlee Hunt that an Indian student with a five or six years course of Medicine would hardly embark on such a course unless he were assured of his certificate of exemption at the end of the first year. Mr. Hunt stated positively, in answer, that the only single reason for this clause being added was the same as the reason for the passport, namely, to make certain that men were not coming in as pretended students and then at once starting as hawkers or pedlars or small tradesmen. If this guarantee, that the student was a bonafide student engaged in his studies, could be obtained in any other way, it would serve the purpose of the Australian Government just as well.

I proposed that in the case of *students* the clause should be altogether cancelled and arrangement should be made whereby the Registrars of the Universities should be responsible for certifying that the Indians, who were on the rolls, were bonafide students actually in residence. This proposal was favourably received and I

have little doubt that it would be accepted by the Australian Government as satisfactory. There could then be no need at all for any certificate of exemption.

I asked Mr. Attlee Hunt the pointed question,—“Could an Indian student stay on for six or eight years, or even longer, provided he was a bona fide student?”

The answer immediately followed:—“Most certainly. Why not? That is what the Law implies.”

In the face of all this information, which was given with frankness, openness and sincerity, I was startled to read the following paragraph in the “Indian Daily News” of Calcutta.

“The Madras Government, it is stated, has nothing to do with the refusal of a passport to Mr. Jeenarajadasa. . . When passports are applied for by Indians *the procedure in the first instance is to refer the matter to the Government of the Commonwealth of Australia and only after their approval does the Madras Government issue passports.* If the Australian Government objected to Mr. Jeenarajadasa's advent, the Madras Government had nothing to do with it.”

The paragraph astonished me. If there had been an atom of truth in it, then all that I have written above would be shown at once to be mere idle words. But the actual telegram of Mr. Glynn has since been published, and it completely discredits this shameless fabrication.

One point, which I have italicised, needs careful enquiry. If the Government of India is still adopting the cumbersome procedure of sending first to Australia before granting any passport, then it is high time that this should be given up. The Government's duty in the matter is a very minor one. It is merely to certify that such and such an Indian is a bonafide merchant, student or traveller and to state the probable duration of his visit. It is not their duty to act the part of Grand Inquisitor, nor yet to send useless letters to Australia asking the Australian Government if they are willing to receive one whom that very Government itself has declared by its own laws to be eligible for admission.

I wish now to show in some detail how our Indian students have been deprived, by this remissness and lack of interest on the part of the Indian Government, of privileges which would have helped them

in the midst of their desperate struggle, in face of poverty and privation, to get on in the world.

I visited Perth in Western Australia and stayed there for a considerable time making enquiries. There is a rising University at Perth, in a perfect climate. This University charges no fees at all to its students. It is within 9½ days' sea voyage from Colombo. A deck passage across would not cost more than £4 or £5 and a second class passage from £10 to £12, and there were large and comfortable fortnightly steamers running before the war began. The University, though in its infancy, has already obtained a very able staff of European Professors, especially on the Science side. I met them, one by one, and had long, leisurely talks with them discussing the whole problem. They expressed the keenest interest in welcoming Indian students, if only they were ready to come over to Australia. Later on I saw the Chancellor, the Vice-Chancellor and the Registrar, and they were equally willing to welcome both men and women students from India. I saw also the Labour Leaders of Western Australia,—for Labour now wields immense power in all political and social matters. These, including the editors of the Labour newspapers, gave me their support. Last of all I met the different West Australian Women's organisations,—and how ardently they supported the proposal may be easily judged by the letters which have appeared from them in the Indian Press declaring their sympathy with Indian women, in their struggle to abolish indenture. On both subjects,—the admission of Indian students into Australian Universities and the amelioration of the lot of Indian women in Fiji,—I had from first to last the strongest support of the women in Australia.

[I must add in a parenthesis that ever since the attitude of Indian leaders on that which was in Australia the one supreme issue, viz., the abolition of indentured labour, has been known by the Labour Leaders of Australia, they are willing to support the admission of Indian students. They have no wish whatever to shut the door of knowledge, however much they may wish to close the door to cheap Indian labour. Their attitude from first to last was: “You pledge us that you will send no cheap Indian labour, and we

pledge you we will not object to your Indian students coming here to study."]

I discussed with the Science Professors in all the Universities the openings for study in their different subjects. I should state that the standard in Science is high, and some of the most brilliant men are carrying on research with eminent success in Australia. One of the Science Professors at Adelaide obtained quite recently the Nobel Prize. This will serve to show the standard reached. I gained the following information :—

At Perth, West Australia, mining engineering, electrical engineering, and dry farming in agriculture, were special subjects in which help could be given to Indian students.

At Adelaide, there were admirable laboratories for chemistry, physics and engineering. There was also a good Medical School. The Professor of Chemistry was especially keen to receive Indian students as his pupils.

At Melbourne, all the chief sciences were represented. The Medical Course took a high place. Bacteriology was specialised in. Mechanical engineering was strong. This ranks with Sydney as the chief University.

At Sydney, Science in its main branches has been a special feature of the University from early days. Medicine rivals that of Melbourne University. Indeed, in every way, Sydney and Melbourne are the Oxford and Cambridge of Australia.

I was unable to make full enquiries with regard to Brisbane University, because it was the Long Vacation when I visited that city. It stands with Perth as among the newer Universities of Australia.

Every one of these five Universities is open to Indian students. As to the rate of payment,—while Perth is free from all lecture and University fees, Adelaide, Melbourne, Sydney and Brisbane have moderate charges. There are scholarships, which would be open to Indian students, and there are possibilities of earning money, by the healthy open-air life of fruit-picking, during the Long Vacation. Ordinarily, tuition fees do not come to more than about £20 a year, or 25 rupees a month. Good lodging and board can be had very cheaply and if a student is economical he should be able to manage all his expenses on 100 to 120 rupees a month. To give an example, I stayed myself at a

house close to Adelaide University where the food and accommodation was ample and the people of the house were most kindly disposed towards Indians. They would be willing to take two Indian students at 60 rupees each per mensem. It should be understood that, though travelling and hotels in Australia are expensive, it is always possible to live in one's own house very cheaply indeed, on account of the abundant supply of fruit and vegetables and bread and milk.

One further point needs to be emphasised. The climate of Australia is probably the most healthy in the world. This vast continent, with its deserts, is very sparsely inhabited. The air has never been contaminated with disease germs to any great extent. The sunshine is abundant, and yet there is a bracing cold especially at night. The people themselves are a healthy people. From an Indian point of view, I can imagine no life more truly health giving and invigorating than a student life in an Australian University. It is a land of bright days, large open spaces and keen fresh air. The physical stature of Australians is remarkable and I feel certain that Indian students would come back after five or six years in Australia with a new physical vigour that would stand them in good stead for the rest of their lives. There would be none of the terrible depression which most Indian students feel during the dark cold fogs and sunless winter days of England or Scotland.

When I saw the hospitable welcome which Australians of all classes were ready to give to Indian students, I confess it was with something akin to indignation that I remembered that all these facts had been known to the Indian Government and yet they had been so remiss as not to make them widely and fully canvassed among the Indian public. I began to question with myself,—was this mere slackness, or was it intentional? Was the atmosphere of Australia too free, too democratic, too 'advanced' for Indian students? It was a significant thing, that without a single exception Australians who talked with me were of the opinion that Home Rule should be given to India. "Why don't you let Indians govern themselves?"—this was a question repeatedly asked. Just as every one wished Ireland to have Home Rule, so also they wished

India to have Home Rule. In this they were consistently democratic.

I return from this discussion of the admission of students from India to give one or two more personal experiences, for these, after all, will make the picture most vivid to the mind.

In the city of Perth, West Australia, I asked a group of ladies if there were any Indians in their home neighbourhood. One of them described to me an Indian who lived near to her own home so clearly that I can remember her description still. She said to me: "You should just see Mr.— coming down the street with the children hanging on to him in the morning as he goes to catch the train, and the mothers looking out of their doors as pleased as anything. And he generally brings something back in his pockets for them in the evening. He's a rare one for children."

I stayed many days with a Chinese graduate of Hong Kong University who was a clergyman in the Church of England. He had the pastoral charge of Australian congregations, and just before I left he was asked by an important parish, where the parishioners were entirely Australian (not Chinese), to become their parish priest.

Again, on board the ship, coming home, —there were six young Australian mechanics who were going out to Singapore to work on the tank steamers. When we reached Macassar, on the Dutch island of Celebes, we all went ashore. That night on returning one of them said to me:

"Mr. Andrews, we've seen a sight to-day that we've never seen before in all our lives. If I was to write home and tell my mother about it, she wouldn't believe me."

"What was it?" I asked curiously.

"Why, there were natives all over the place actually dragging white men about in those rickshaws, as they call them, and

the white men were treating them just as if they were slaves or animals. Just fancy being dragged about like that! No, I'm never going in one of them things! I'm an Australian!"

He spoke that night with great excitement. Three weeks afterwards I met him in Singapore and asked him:

"Have you ever been in a rickshaw yet?" He said to me: "No! and I'm not going in one either. I'm an Australian!"

I felt that there was something great in a country's traditions of manhood and freedom when they could make this young Australian artisan refuse steadfastly, at all costs, to use as a kind of beast of burden his fellow man.

After reading over what I have written I do not wish to minimise for a moment the dangers that lurk behind the cry of 'white Australia,' which is itself an insult to other races. This cry, started as a purely economic watchword, may at any future time become a fanatical and unreasoning religion and create a subtle enmity and dread, in Australia, of all Asiatic neighbouring races. There were signs in Australia that this was beginning to take place, and I heard on the Domain at Sydney speeches by Socialist Labour Leaders which were appeals to anti-Chinese prejudice, pure and simple.

But, all the same, here to-day is Australia stretching out her hand to India with an offer that is both just and timely, —the offer of an open door of welcome for Indian students into her Universities. For Australia's own sake, as well as for the sake of India, —I trust that this opportunity of human fellowship will not be lost.

Shantiniketan.

C. F. ANDREWS.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

GERMANY'S LOST COLONIAL EMPIRE, by John H. Harris, London, 1917.

This is a rapid review for the busyman, who has little time to spare, yet is anxious to know the extent

of the colonial territory lost by Germany in the present war. This has been illustrated by diagrams which make out the extent to be five times that of Germany. The birth of these colonies was due to Prince Bismarck, "the Alpha and Omega" of whose policy was "a place in the sun" for the surplus population of the Fatherland. It will, however, appear

from the lecture delivered before the Royal Colonial Institute by Professor Bonn, that this attempt did not succeed. Be that as it may, the attempt changed the aspect of the country and the prospects of the original inhabitants. A writer on African affairs has described the result in three sentences: (i) "the native has his ultimate retort"; (ii) "it is a final one"; (iii) "he just dies." Those, who have not died, have, however, found better friends in the allied powers.

A VINDICATION OF AURANGZEB, by Sadiq Ali.

Professor Jadunath Sarkar's *History of Aurangzeb* appears to have prompted the publication of this *Vindication*. It rests partly upon the author's doubts regarding the genuineness of some and credibility of other proofs on which is based the current estimate of Aurangzeb's character as a Man and a Sovereign; but it rests mainly upon what the author calls "a difference of opinion". This difference is a noticeable feature of the book. For, according to the author, "Akbar's marrying Rajput ladies really sapped the foundations of the lofty edifice of his empire"; and Dara was an apostate and infidel, who, "according to Muslim Law deserved punishment of death." The value of Manucci's *Storia de Mogor*, and Bernier's *Travels*, as well as the character and capacity of their authors, are, according to our author, very low indeed. The genuineness of some of the letters of Aurangzeb, which evidently stand against him, has been seriously questioned by the author, who entertains "a difference of opinion" about them. In one portion of the book the author quotes from an Indian's account of his estimate of French character, which should hardly find place in any decent publication. This *Vindication* has, however, found favour with a section of the Young Islam of India, who have been taught to look upon Aurangzeb as an ideal Ruler, far superior to the Great Akbar, evidently because he could say his prayers before every political murder and could "quote scriptures too." With his well-known thoroughness of action, Aurangzeb did not overlook the necessity of his vindication. He himself wrote out with his own hand the vindications of his acts and addressed them to the sufferers, as may be seen from his letter to his old father while he lingered as a state prisoner of his son. He too entertained "a difference of opinion" even in his own day.

MAHARANA KUMBHA, by Har Bilas Sarda, F.R.S.L., Ajmere Scottish Mission Industries Company Limited, 1917.

Kumbha, the scholar, soldier, and sovereign of Mewar rightly deserved a biography, and rightly has it been compiled by Pandit Har Bilas Sarda with the help of all up-to-date information. Ere long this Prince of Rajputana was known to the Pandits of Bengal as the author of *Rasika-priya*, a Sanskrit commentary on the *Gitagovinda* of the Bengali poet Jayadeva. Col. Tod published in his monumental work valuable materials bearing on the life and achievements of Kumbha. Since then historical research in Rajputana, though still in its infancy, has added many interesting details. The author has made good use of them. Kumbha, constantly engaged in war,—conquering new territories, building forts, strengthening the defences,—found time to cultivate fine arts. Kumbha as a scholar is the title of the last chapter of the book which may be studied by our landlords with profit to themselves and to their country. Pandit Sarda's book is interesting and

instructive. It furnishes not only stimulating reading but also supplies a nucleus for an outline of Rajput history. It has not, however, been cast in the shape of a monograph for the scholar, but as a narrative for the enlightenment of the general reader. The six illustrations and the artistic get up and silken cover of the book will make it an attractive volume for presentation.

MAITRA.

MAHARANA SANGA, THE HINDUPAT—By Harabilas Sarda. (Published by Scottish Mission Industries Company, Limited, Ajmer. 1918.)

This small volume is one of the series of biographical studies in Rajput history undertaken by Mr. Sarda. Mr. Sarda's method is most up-to-date. His facts are based on contemporary records, inscriptions and official chronicles. Being a gentleman of the Rajput country and fully familiar with the living traditions of history still current in that country and with Indo-Mahomedan histories, he occupies an unrivalled position as a Rajput historian. His writings have the further advantage of being products of a pen used to judicial weighing of facts. Tod's work is classical and can never be superseded. But since Tod's time new materials have come to light. Manuscripts and inscriptions are being discovered every day. For instance, the great soldier Maharana Kumbha who has left at Chitor that "Pillar of Victory like that of Trajan at Rome but in infinitely better taste as an architectural object than the Roman example" (Fergusson) and which 'tells of deeds which should not pass away, and names which must not wither' (Tod) and who built one of the wonders of Indian art, that Jain temple of Rampur at the cost of a million sterling inlaid with mosaics of cornelian and agate, has now to his credit manuscripts of eight works on Hindu architecture composed under him (see *Maharana Kumbha*, p. 94, by Mr. Sarda). Kumbha the great general, on the evidence of inscriptions and manuscripts, is disclosed to be an equally great scholar, an authority on Hindu music and Dramaturgy of such eminence as to win the title of "Modern (abhinava) Bharatacharya" from his contemporaries. Inscriptions recording the events of the reign of Maharana Rai Mal now explain the historical misfits in Persian Histories as wilful falsification of facts, turning disastrous defeats of the Sultans of Gujrat and Malwa into glorious victories. Mr. Sarda takes note of these new materials and labours of scholars and brings the accounts of Col. Tod up to date.

"Sanga" (popular form of 'Sangrama Simha') is a small book of 158 pages, but on account of the subject matter, it is really an epic booklet. Personalities vie with each other in nobleness, valour and sense of honour. The mind becomes awestricken by stories which are more romantic than the greatest romances. Their virtues thrill the heart and electrify the soul. Take for instance, the career of Prithviraja, the elder brother of Maharana Sanga or of Tarabai, wife of Prithviraja, or Surajmal, uncle of Sanga and Prithviraja. From the age of 14, up to his death at about 29, Prithviraja did nothing but conquer. With two companions he went and redeemed the Rajput principality of Toda which had passed under an Afghan conqueror. His wife Tarabai was the most beautiful woman of her time, she was one of the trinity who confidently jumped amongst the enemy, paralysed and killed the

Nawab and conquered back Toda. The elephant which barred the way of Prithviraja was driven away by an amazon blow of the sword of Tara which cut off clean the trunk of the monster. The honour of shooting down the Afghan intruder, also belonged to the heroine on horse-back. Tara not only claimed the Hindu right of being the half-self of her husband, but she actually shared his risks and glory in this patriotic *anushthana* of 'redemption.' Surajmal, who had turned a rebel to the throne of Chitor fought Rana Rai Mal (Prithviraja's father). The battle being indecisive the two armies bivouacked in sight of each other. Prithviraja, whom his contemporaries called 'the winged' owing to his meteoric marches covering at times 150 miles a day, had suddenly appeared on the scene and had retrieved the day for his father the Maharana. At night Prithviraja went to his uncle Surajmal and enquired after his health and wounds. He told his uncle that he had not yet seen his father. The uncle whose wounds had hardly been sewn got up to receive the Crown Prince and declared himself healed by the pleasure of seeing the nephew while some of the wounds were actually bursting by the exertion. The uncle and nephew dined from the same plate and wished good bye with the hope of meeting next morning on the battle-field. On a later occasion, when the uncle and nephew were warring against each other and dining together at the same time, the household of Surajmal being sick with their continued exile and struggle, put poison in the food which was to be served to Prithviraja. Surajmal suspecting it, proposed to dine from the same plate as the nephew, whereupon the household was confused and the food served was hurriedly removed. In an instance Prithviraja read the whole situation, and moved by the sense of honour of Surajmal, he resigned his future right of succession to the throne in favour of the uncle Surajmal. Surajmal proudly replied to his 'child' (nephew) that he disowned even as much claim on Chitor as to drink water in its territory. He retired to the wilds of Kanthal to found the small state of Deolia, where his descendants still reign. For the "winged Prithviraja" it was a sport to capture Mahomedan kings on the battle-field. But he would not destroy their life, he would bring them captives to Chitor, keep them with full honour and restore them back to their homes.

His younger brother Sanga, was called 'Hindupat' or the leader of the Hindus by his contemporaries. He had the same valour which characterised his house. It cannot be better described than by a description of his person when he closed his eyes. 'He exhibited at his death the fragments of a warrior.' 'One eye had been lost in a duel, one arm had been lost in the battle where he defeated the Lodi King of Delhi, a cannon ball had made him further cripple,' 'while he counted 80 wounds from the sword and lance on various parts of his body.' (Tod) His rival, Babar, dreaded him on the battle-field and paid tribute to his sword after his death.

Sanga lived at one of those junctures which history produces for itself to take a definite turn. The Afghan power had been broken by the Hindu power arising from the sands of Rajputana, encircled all round by Mohamadan kingdoms. The Lodis of Delhi had been successively defeated, the kings of Malwa and Gujrat had been made captives and liberated in actions after actions. The moment was awaiting an empire-builder. The battlements from the shores of Gujrat upto Delhi and Jaunpur were waiting for a new standard. All eyes turned on the *Hiadu-*

pat. Sanga was going to be the lord of all the Hindus. The flag of Suryavamsa was going to be hoisted again over Aryavarta. Time demanded a change.

Sanga's deeds and democracy marked him to carry out that change. After his greatest victory Sanga requested the nobles and chiefs of Rajputana to elect a new king out of themselves to occupy the throne of Mewar and Hindu leadership, for he had lost a limb and become incapacitated in the eye of Hindu law. Only when the princes re-elected him, he ascended the throne of the Maharanas. The deeds of valour inspired under his leadership filled the Hindu world with pride and enthusiasm. At the storming of the fortress of Ahmadnagar Kanh Singh Chauhan 'rushed to the gate, covered the spikes with his body' and invited the elephants who had been refusing to force the portals against the iron spikes. Kanh Singh nullified the spikes by the cover of his body and urged the elephants to do their duty, 'himself being impaled.' (Sarda, p. 81). No sacrifice was too great for the Hindus to make under the banner of that 'fragment of a warrior.' The Hindupat, as Erskine rightly says, "inspired all his countrymen with hopes that a change of dynasty was about to take place; and they hailed with joy the prospect of a native Government of India."

But an incident that occurred on the 16th of March, 1527, made history take an unexpected turn. On account of that incident, Sanga missed 'the crown of India' (Sarda, p. 50), which in the language of Tod, "might again have encircled the brow of a Hindu" and occasioned the transference 'of the banner of supremacy' 'from Indraprasth to the battlements of Chitor.' This incident was the fatal mistake of removing the wounded Maharana from the battlefield.

Mr. Sarda performs the function of real historian when he appraises the qualities of Babar in words rightly due to that man of destiny. He was "Maharana Sanga's equal in courage and determination and not inferior to him in personal valour. And if he was inferior to the Maharana in chivalry..... he was superior in circumspection, perseverance, judgment....." "Sanga was a greater hero and a more chivalrous leader of men, Babar was a greater politician and a more skilful general." Probably Mr. Sarda regarded a discussion of the military genius displayed by Babar at Khanua beyond the scope of his work. When the army under Babar had lost faith in themselves, fancied death staring at them and were praying, Babar was conceiving a wonderful stratagem. He adopted the Turkish *turugma*, massed all his guns in one place under cover, fired them as if of one calibre and broke the tide of advancing Hindus. The same method, used on a gigantic scale by the Germans, annihilated the Russian army before Warsaw.

When Babar and his companions were suing for peace and gaining time, when his army evinced, as Babar himself says, "universal discouragement," and "total want of spirit," Sanga would not attack, for the enemy was not ready to accept battle! The Rajput ethics of war differed from the code of war of his ancient forefathers as much as the religion of a decadent period differs from the religion of the founder. The spirit was sacrificed to form. The ideal of the Rajput had come to be "to die well in battle," "not to win it." It was glorious but it was a form of glorious degeneracy, the epitaph of which is "But for repeated instances of an ill-judged humanity the throne of the Moguls might have been completely overturned" (Tod).

ill-judged humanity is a sure feature of decadent society.

The Maharana missed his Imperial crown and Hindus their liberty. In the place of liberty to the Hindus the Maharana however won and bequeathed to them that moral empire of his name and honour which time will not destroy. And we must thank Mr. Sarda for reminding us of the same.

K. P. JAYASWAL.

THE FIRST PRINCIPLES OF THE JAINA PHILOSOPHY by *Hirachand Liladhar Jhaveri* with an Introduction by L. D. Barnett, M.A., Litt. D. (London), Second Edition. Pp. 55. Price As. 10.

This little book forms the 5th number of the *Jaina Vividha Sahitya Shastramala*, and offers in a suitable way an outline of the Jaina Philosophy.

SRIKRISHNA, THE SOUL OF HUMANITY, A critical study of his life and genius, by A. S. Ramaiah, Editor "Everyman's Review," published by K. A. Hebber, Proprietor, The Kanara Press, Madras. Pp. xvi + 167. Price One Rupee.

We are not glad to read it.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH.

A VEDIC READER FOR STUDENTS by *Arthur Anthony Macdonell*, M.A., Ph. D., Boden Professor of Sanskrit, Fellow of Balliol College, etc., etc., containing thirty Hymns of the Rigveda in the original Samhita and Pada Texts with Transliteration, Translation, Explanatory Notes, Introduction, Vocabulary. *Humphrey Milford*, Oxford University Press, 17-19 Elphinstone Circle, Bombay, 10 Esplanade, George Town, Madras. Pp. xxxi + 263. Price Rs. 4.

The author is too well-known to require any introduction. Readers of this Review may remember his excellent *Vedic Grammar for Students* noticed by us. This reader is meant to be a companion volume to his aforesaid grammar. We know no Vedic Chrestomathy better than it. In every respect it is good and leaves nothing to be desired for the students.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

SANSKRIT.

BHASA'S (1) *SVAPNAVASAVADATTA* (2) *MADHYAMAVYAYOGA* (3) *PANCHARATRA* with the commentary of *Pandit T. Ganapati Sastri*, Editor of the *Trivandrum Sanskrit Series*, L. Ramaswami Sastri, Managing Proprietor, Shidhara Printing House, Trivandrum. Price Rs. 1-8-0, 0-8-0, 1-0-0, respectively.

As the discoverer of the lost dramas of Bhasa Pandit T. Ganapati Sastri is now well-known to the lovers of Sanskrit. We welcome his new commentaries which are worthy of him. They will greatly help the wide circulation of Bhasa's works.

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SANSKRIT-HINDI AND HINDI.

GANDHI HARIBHAI DEVAKARNA JAINA GRANTHAMALA. No. 1. *ARTHAPRAKASHIKA or the Commentary in Hindi of the Mokshashastra by the late Pandit Sadasukhaji Kashlwal*, pp. 543. Price for Non-Jainas Rs. 2-6, for Jainas Rs. 3-8. No. 2. *HARIVAMSA PURANA translated in Hindi by Pandit Gajadharlal Nyayavirtha*, pp. 12 + 627. Price for Non-Jainas Rs. 4-8, for Jainas Rs. 6. Edited and published by *Pandit Pannalal Bukhlal*, General Secretary, *Bharatiya Jaina-Siddhanta Prakashini Samstha*, 9, Vishvakosa Lane, Baghbazar, Calcutta.

In Jainism and particularly in Jaina philosophy *Tattvarthadigama-Sutras* hold an unique place. One intending to learn Jainism must read it. It has many commentaries in Sanskrit. The present work is a commentary in Hindi of those Sutras. It is elaborate and will undoubtedly be very useful to Hindi readers.

Jaina Puranas in which *Harivamsa* is included are important not only for their expounding Jainism in its various aspects, but also for the different versions of many stories and tales found in Brahmanic Puranas and Epics and other works. Among other things the book before us describes the family of Hari or Yadus, hence it is called *Harivamsa* like the Brahmanic one. The story of *Charudatta* in *Bhasa's Charudatta nataka*, or *Sudraka's Mricchakatika* differs very widely from that found herein. Students of History will have ample food from these Jaina Puranas. The Hindi translation of the *Harivamsa* under notice reads well, but owing to the want of original Sanskrit we cannot say how far it is accurate.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

MARATHI.

NATYA RAMAYAN AND NATYA BHARAT, MARATHI BOOKS 1 & 2 OF HOLKAR SARKAR BOOK SERIES, by *Mr. Vasudev Govind Apte*, B.A., Editor Anand, each six annas. Published by the Manager Anand, Poona City.

The books are an attempt to put the stories of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharat* in the continued dialogue form. The incidents are aptly chosen and described in an interesting manner. The dramatization of the Bible Stories and events in English History has secured a place in English Juvenile Literature long since but the experiment appears to have succeeded for the first time in an Indian language in these books. Mr. V. G. Apte's labours for providing suitable Marathi literature for young children are well known, and these new books of his would go a long way towards adding to his reputation. The get up is good particularly in view of the present war conditions and the price is moderate. It may be possible to illustrate the books with pictures in normal times when they will also be more useful.

D. B. R.

HINDI.

GAREEBON-KA-DOCTOR, IN HINDI, by *Mr. Gopal Ramchandra Date*, Vakeel, Jamner, East Khandeish; price Rs. 2.

"Neem Hakeem, Khatre Jan"—"Half Doctor is Danger to Life," could not be better illustrated than

by this book. The author describes twelve drugs and proceeds to show how they can cure no less than ninetythree diseases. Whether these lists exhaust all known drugs and diseases would be too much to say for a layman nor can much be written about the efficacy of the prescriptions: but the attempt to compress all knowledge of the medical science in two hundred and odd pages is apparently too bold. The language can more definitely be described to be very bad showing complete ignorance of the writer both of the idiom and the grammar of Hindi and the style is cumbrous. These may keep off readers from the contents of the book and serve as the thorny hedge which protects men from falling into a deep ditch of dirty water covered over with dried grass.

D. B. R.

AKASHBANI by Bhagwati Manjukaishi Daivi and annotated by Mr. Shribindu. Published by the Shribindu Mitra Mandal, Gorakhpur. Crown 8vo. pp. 76. Price—as. 5.

These are some poems fit for being sung for entertainment. The notes to the poems may be said to be learned and exhaustive.

MRS. BESANT KA ANTIM PATRA, published by the Home Rule League Office, A. B. Road, Cawnpore. Crown 8vo. pp. 12. Price—anna one.

This is a letter written by Mrs. Besant just before her interment. She left this letter behind, while going to see the Governor of Madras, fearing that she might be interned then and there. The contents of the letter are very well known. The translation is faithful and good.

CHARU DATTA, by Mr. Braj Lal Mahajan, B.A. and printed by the Doaba Educational Press, Anarkali, Lahore and to be had of Messrs. Atmaram and Sons, Booksellers, Lahore. Crown 8vo. pp. 75. Price—as. 4.

This is a short novel. The plot is not very good. But it has got some antique taste about it and therefore will not be found uninteresting. The description here and there is worth perusal.

UPASANA KHAND by Shrimati Rajrani, C-o Shri Raj Narain, Vakil, Jhansi. Demy 8vo. pp. 256. Price—as. 14.

This is a comment on several selected lines of Tulsi Das's Ramayan. The comments are very instructive from the stand-point from which they have been written. There is also an exhaustive discourse on the part of the authoress in which many quotations from the Ramayan have been given. The views of the book may be said to be old-fashioned, still they deserve attention. The modern ways of females have been criticised. In most of the reflections, the criticisms are partially correct. Considering the great value of the book, its price is very low.

SANJIBANI BOOTI, PART I, by Mr. Satyadeva. Published by the Manager, Satya-Grantha-Mala office, Allahabad. Crown 8vo. pp. 136. Price—as. 9.

Another of the well-known books of Mr. Satyadeva in which there are not much of his political and social views. It is meant for young boys and most of the pit-falls which impede their progress have been graphically pointed out. The name of the book suits it well and it would really work the part of nectar for the juvenile readers who might have gone astray

or who might be on the path of going astray. The description is characteristic of the author and needs no comment beyond what has been said with respect to his previous books already revised. Its get-up is nice.

BALIKA-VINAY by a Jain-Mahila and published by Kumar Devendraprasad Jain, Praim Mandir, Arrah. Crown 16mo. pp. 44. Price—as. 2.

These are short and simple poems meant for being recited by small girls. The style is nice and suited to those for whom it is meant. The poems are undoubtedly very instructive and range over all the necessary subjects. They are about 19 or 20 in number.

SOOCHIPATRA of the books exhibited at the Seventh Hindi-Sahitya-Sammelan, Jubbulpore and published by its Reception Committee. Crown 8vo. pp. 164. Price—as. three.

This is a collection of the names of the books that were exhibited on the 7th Hindi-Sahitya-Sammelan which was held at Jubbulpore. To those who might desire a good collection of Hindi books, the publication is invaluable. All the necessary information has been given and there are very short reviews also. It may be said to be a sort of catalogue giving all the necessary details. A publication like this will be very useful for libraries.

ROMESH CHANDRA DUTTA, published by Pandita Onkarnath Bajpai, at his Press at Allahabad. Crown 8vo. pp. 136. Price—as. 5.

This is a life of Mr. R. C. Dutt and a very well written life indeed. We find that the series of the books is very useful and will supply a long-felt want. There ought to be a large number of such biographies in the field. We give the publication all possible encouragement.

BOOKS ON THE SWARAJYA SERIES published by the "Pratap" office, Cawnpore. Prices of the tracts, annas three, two, and one according to the size.

These are several booklets of the Swarajya series. Most of them have reproduced thoughts of prominent Indian leaders. The tracts Nos. 2 and 3 reproduce speeches of the Hon'ble Mr. Chintamani at the Jhansi Provincial Conference. The tract No. 5 in the same way reproduces the views of Babu Ambica Charan Mazumdar on Swarajya as set forth in the thirty-first Indian National Congress which was held at Lucknow. The tract No. 6 similarly gives views of Pandit Jagat Narain. The tract No. 7 gives the memorable speech of the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya which was delivered on the 10th of August 1917 at the U. P. Special Congress sitting held at Refahe Am Hall, Lucknow. The tract No. 1 gives general views on the subject of self-government. The tract No. 4 is a collection of very nice songs which are meant for being sung at national meetings.

M. S.

GUJARATI.

VADODARA NI SHARIRIK SUDHARANA ANE AROGYA MANDIR (વડોદરા નો શારીરિક સુધારણા અને આરોગ્ય મંદિર) by Prof. G. Y. Manikrao, printed (cover only) at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Paper Cover, pp. 60. Unpriced (1918).

The writer is the director of a well-known gymnasium at Baroda, and is known all over Gujarat as one devoted to his art and profession. Such a person is not necessarily a good exponent of his art on paper, nor can he be always to the point. The book furnishes very discursive reading; its main purpose, the cult of physical exercise, takes up only a small portion of the contents.

HINDU DHARM NI BALPOTHI (हिंदु धर्म नी बाळपोथी) by Prof. Anandshanker Bapubhai Dhruva, M.A., LL.B., of the Gujarat College, Ahmedabad: Published by the Director of Vernacular Education of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwad of Baroda. Cloth Cover, pp. 126. Price As. 11 (1918).

The Government of H. H. is to be doubly congratulated for the selection of the subject, and for the selection of its expounder. The book is a primer of Hindu Religion, intended for juveniles, a subject of vital necessity and interest at all times, and the expounder is Prof. Dhruva, than whom no other Gujarati could have done better justice to the subject. By a skilful arrangement, he takes the young student, from the very primary and simple elements of our religion to its highly developed form, Vedant, by such easy stages, and in such an interesting way, that one hardly feels that one is slowly gliding into one stage from another. Hindu religion—or rather religions—because Buddhism and Jainism also find a place in this book—is presented by him in its conservative or orthodox aspect: as in daily life, he has refrained from assuming the necktie and the collar, so here too, he has deliberately refrained from allowing his exposition to be diverted in any way by the influence of modern times, and has avoided the fashion of the West. Being fully saturated with his subject, and being in addition a scholar with a highly developed genius for assimilation, he has been suc-

cessful in writing a book, which though avoiding all the pitfalls of a crude writer, while preserving intact the *corpus* of his subject, explains the alleged and obvious impossibilities of several Hindu beliefs in a very convincing manner. The book requires to be read and studied to fully appreciate the worth of the writer and his ability to harmonise things. In our opinion Prof. Dhruva has greatly added to his reputation for sobriety of thought, originality of thinking, and ability to say what he has got to say in a very attractive way, by this book.

(1) **PHENOLOGY**, by Narmadashanker B. Pandya, printed at the Surat Jaina Engine Printing Press, Surat. Thick card board, pp. 108. Price As. 10 (1917).

(2) **PHYSIOGNOMY**, by the same author, printed at the Gujarat Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound, pp. 254. Price Rs. 2-0-0 (1917).

The study of both these sciences is fascinating, and it is highly creditable to Mr. Pandya that living in such an out of the way place as Songhad Vyara and serving in the Postal Department as a Postmaster there, he has found leisure to pursue this hobby of his to such an extent as to publish the result of his studies in these two books. We are sure that to any one with leisure enough to look into the practical side of their contents, the works will furnish a reliable guide. The pictures which illustrate the writer's theses have not come out well, but then it is open to every student to select his own model.

Note—In the July (1918) issue of the Modern Review, at p. 40, column 1, in line 39 read, "otherwise" instead of "rather"; in column 2, line 42, "man" instead of "mass"; and in line 48, "that" instead of "who."

K. M. J.

GLEANINGS

Child Education in India

BY E. AGNES R. HAIGH.

The national life of a people is embodied in the manner of its education. The schooling and apprenticeship which it evolves for the training and discipline of its youth are a mirror reflecting national ideals and aspirations, national aims and beliefs. By looking to the system of learning under which a student grows from childhood to maturity we discover the material from which his thought is fed, the purposes and relative values which his mind is trained to accept. The ideal education is a continuous development, building up the firm chain of succession, establishing harmoniously the sense of causation and sequence, the strength of united purpose and action, and the value and importance of combination. Where national life is normal and consistent, we find educational methods correspondingly continuous and natural, expressing, as

well as forming, the temper of the people. Accepting this view of education as a national function, we recognise that the principles of education must be constantly challenged, its practice constantly revised, according to the changing demands of the times. The lessons of recent experience have emphasised this necessity for vigilance; and the problems of education must be faced with equal regard for the needs of individual self-development, of vocational efficiency and of national service.

The need of wisdom and foresight in inaugurating revised educational methods in India is proportionately more urgent than with us, as the difficulties to be met are more intricate and complex. The system of school and college education which has the authority of official sanction, and constitutes the direct approach to public life and office, has hitherto been built up on English models. Hence the tendency, among those to whom the task of educational administration in British India is entrusted, has been

to discuss its problems on lines almost parallel with those of modern England, to assume similar difficulties and no others, and to search for similar solutions to those difficulties. Here, in England, the educational questions of the moment may seem to be debated almost exclusively with a view to school curricula and university courses, but it must be remembered that the years of 'nursery' and 'kindergarten' training, when imagination is most vigorous, observation most acute, memory most retentive, are provided for by an inherited discipline which political problems have never touched, and by a development which our national reawakening, combined with the more scientific methods of the modern teaching art, has splendidly enriched. The policy of education in India, which has accepted an exotic and arbitrary scheme as the basis of school and collegiate learning, of necessity precludes any continuity of mental training between the stages of childhood and student life; and the preliminary period of child development has been, as a result, almost entirely neglected. Now, this period is manifestly of the highest importance for all subsequent growth, since during these early years, the faculties of sense must be awakened and disciplined, perceptions and powers of discrimination developed, direction given to mental habits which will determine the course they take during adolescent and adult life. What the preparing of the soil is in horticulture—and without it all later effort may be in great measure unproductive—that is the training of the child, at home and in the class-room, in lesson and in game, in the higher culture of human development.

Experience and observation of the particular needs of child training have led, in practically every country of the West, to similar conclusions. Lessons of obedience can begin with infancy; and a wise mother or trained nurse can encourage in the infant, even before it can speak, rudimentary instincts of regularity, method and self-control, as well as intelligent response to certain outside influences and impressions. Recognition of the rights of others can be implanted in babyhood, system may be observed in games as well as in the daily routine of living. In the next stage the child's restless mental and bodily activity is regulated and developed by occupations that interest and hold the attention. The most recent cultivation of music as an active experience—a rediscovery of the true and original purposes of the musical art—is now becoming recognised as an aesthetic discipline and culture of the widest influence. Eye and ear are further trained in drawing and nature-study, and manual dexterity is acquired in many practical branches of handicraft. The vast literature of childhood, ranging from the simpler stories and rhymes of legend or fancy, through epic tales of valour and romance, to the striving, suffering and accomplishment of saints or heroes, peoples the child-mind with ideas of permanent value, gives understanding of human nature and conduct, and implants the conception of honour and self-sacrifice. So trained, the child of, say, from seven to nine years of age, who may, perhaps, have learned no actual lessons, has progressed far in culture and education, has acquired a standard (though not yet conscious) in art, literature, and conduct, and is truly prepared, in the coming years of school-life, not merely to learn but to discriminate, select, and use his individual judgment. These are critical years of infant and child life, not merely in the houses of the wealthy but, more or less, in every representative class of life. The teacher may be

mother, nurse, governess, or school-mistress, but the lessons are of the same kind.

Now, what is the provision made for the corresponding years of childhood in India? The course and routine of childhood is necessarily determined by the conditions of home-life; and the life of the Indian home is distracted at the present day by a tremendous unsettlement. There exists no uniformity in upbringing, no accepted standard, no common aim scientifically pursued. With few exceptions, the only children trained systematically in infancy and earlier childhood (apart from the scattered units who attend Christian missionary institutions in their earliest years) are those who are brought under the influence of certain reforming bodies of recent growth, which wisely seek to disseminate their propaganda through a social and religious training along national lines. Until recently there existed a very definite idea of home-education, more adapted, perhaps, to developing the qualities of reverence, dignity, patience, kindness—the time-honoured virtues of Indian culture—than to training individual powers, or imparting knowledge, other than the traditional lore of the ancient epics. But this tradition has become less and less operative as the home has come to be, within the last generation or so, increasingly out of sympathy with the aims and methods of scholastic training along Western lines, and with all the factors that determine success or prosperity in modern active life. At the present day, the best representative traditions of the home have been largely undermined by bewilderment and indifference—the failure of the past to deal adequately with its own problems, and the apathy of the present, where security imposed from without has robbed the people of all incentive towards national growth and progress. Among the poorer agricultural classes—the vast majority of India's population—whom state education has hardly touched, and upon whom their own traditional culture is fast losing its hold, the child grows up in utter ignorance, neglected in body and mind, unreasoning and unthinking, influenced mainly by the cruder superstitions of past ages, the bonds of caste, and the baneful customs of ancient and tyrannous convention.

The old Sanskrit and Koranic learning, which formed the guiding principle of thought and the source of mind-culture, which inspired the ideals and moulded the manners of every age and class, was an influence of more consistent and universal appeal than anything which our briefer and more chequered history has enabled us to develop. The advent of new ideas from the West would not, by themselves, have dispossessed this ancient education, even though its vitality had sunk to a low ebb; but the new orientation which an English government of necessity brought with it, introducing new purposes, new methods, new values, into every department of human life, meant a hopeless break-up of the old regime. Moreover, the experiment of modern Western education, imposed upon certain sections of the male population, between certain stages of their development, introduced, as it was, partially, arbitrarily, and with little reference to the events and surroundings of daily life, was bound to lead to the present chaos and confusion. Thus the home continues to reproduce the life of a bygone age pathetically robbed of purpose and meaning, because unrelated to the needs of to-day, while education widens the gulf, by imparting to the schoolboy lessons of which the subjects lack that harmony of sequence and the method which could give them a living meaning,

imparting them, moreover, in a foreign tongue, which he but seldom wholly masters. The language of his infancy remains to him, therefore, more often than not, a mere patois for domestic needs; and the language which he acquires in school-days, and for public life, may be no more than a pedagogic speech adapting itself but clumsily to the expression of his thoughts. In such surroundings the Indian child of the present day can have few of the benefits of modern system, of scientific or psychological experience in its early up-bringing, while the old-fashioned discipline of traditional culture may scarcely be regarded as an active or a living influence.

In no country in the world, perhaps, except India, do we find this strange anomaly of the Old and the New continuing side by side within the same house, the same family, often the same individual (for early influence is strong), separate, unreconciled, in perpetual silent warfare one with another. Moreover, conflict and antagonism between the affairs of the outer world of work and business, and the administration of the home, with its ceremonies of religion, its marriage customs, its complex social structure is bound to persist so long as women live a life apart untutored and untrained. The problems of India's future progress are necessarily bound up with the education of its women and must find their ultimate solution inside the home, by men and women in co-operation. The true traditions of Indian womanhood will readily concede to woman her place in the evolution of intellectual and spiritual culture; and history confirms it as the revival of a lost ideal, realised in the days of India's greatness, and firmly established in her social order. If primary education became universal, the same for boy and girl alike, for rich and poor, for every caste and community, assimilation would inevitably take place, and the situation might become normal almost within one generation. But an educational reform on so large a scale is a matter for legislation, and lies outside my argument.

Meantime by what methods can Indian reformers best counter the prevalent disorder of mind and spirit which pervades the home? How can they best secure to the infant life of to-day that robustness and sanity of development so vitally necessary to the generation which must solve in practical experience the problems and theories of to-day? For India is no longer helpless, passive, inert. The restless vigour of her new awakening has made trial of its forces in countless different experiments during the last decade or more; but the gradual rise of the spirit of nationality is now claiming all these energies for a single united purpose. Every department of life and thought is stirring to fresh activity; and the vitality of its promise is most surely proved by the spirit of devotion and self-sacrifice which the new creed everywhere arouses. The movement is alive, beyond all question; among its leaders and supporters are men of the widest range of thought and study, advanced thinkers mentally at grips with problems and difficulties by which we of the West are never faced—men who take a passionate pride in their country and the great heritage of its past, who yet realise the obstacles it must surmount before it can become emancipated and play its part in active modern life.

Above all, it is necessary to secure that continuity between past and future without which no effort can boast a stable foundation. The necessity for continuous growth and evolution has not always been recognised in Europe, but it has never been defied

with impunity. In India the principle of growth from within is even more fundamentally important, by reason of her long antecedent civilisation and the strong instinct of conservatism in the life of every class. The New Renaissance of the East is a movement of the widest possible scope. Elements of the successive waves which came to Europe in the advent of the New Learning, the Reformation of the 16th century, and the national revival of the 19th, are all present in the quickening of Young India of today. The course which this movement will take is as yet undetermined; we only know that everything which India's past civilisation has accumulated of literature, art, music, and spiritual culture, has felt the stimulus of new life, and will play its part in the moulding of New India out of the present turmoil.

The practical results of the modern Nationalist revival in Europe are now incarnated in the education of the child of this generation; and the lessons of national growth and evolution are thus secured to future generations by being implanted upon the child's imagination during its most impressionable years. The influences of childhood are, without doubt, the most permanent and indelible. Even accidental impressions received at this period have a tendency to dominate subconscious thought and so to determine action, as modern psychology, confirming the old Jesuit adage, has recognised. The need, therefore, of a childhood training which shall embody the nation's ideals is clearly of the first necessity for India's future progress. This nurture and training of the child is normally the province of the home and properly the work of women. But, until the home is prepared to perform its part, devoted reformers can do much to enable modern educational science to utilise the resources of India's national heritage for the mental and physical culture of young children. There are signs that such a change is already coming.

In recent years, and for the first time, a children's literature is slowly growing up in Bengal—a literature of Indian tales and legends illustrated with Indian pictures. But the beginnings are still small and local, and the need is national. This task must not be postponed to some more convenient season or relegated to the leisure moments of busy men, to be dealt with when the claims of public office and of affairs have been satisfied. The mind of the child is unceasingly active and receptive, his hunger for knowledge about the world he lives in is constant, and should be wisely fed. The world of history, literature and legend is full of incident and movement, adventure and romance. The stories they yield must be told with skill and sympathy, simply and with sincerity. The wonders of nature, the life of forest, plain and river, of bird and beast, of tree and flower, are the intimate comrades of childhood. Vision and understanding are needed to interpret even the outer meaning of these, to explain their forms and phases, their purpose and development, and their relation to human life. Colour and song—innate expressions of Indian aesthetic genius—and the rhythm of ordered movement as well as of sound, have been too long banished from so-called practical life. These must become considered agents in awakening and training the perceptions and faculties of childhood. All the elements, in short, which will take their share in the social reconstruction of the future, must be brought together in harmonious combination to form the environment of the child of to-day.

The narrow pedantry of the 19th century, which

taught by rule and rote, by weary memorising of dead formulae, together with the Spencerian doctrines and materialistic codes of the period, have ceased to be a danger to us in the West. A wave of Hellenism, which always brings with it a return to nature and new life, has delivered us from that particular bondage. But a late outcrop, transplanted by Macaulay and his early Victorian associates, still flourishes in India, in school and college, in the thought and conversation of the 'literate' classes. Deliverance must come to India through her own effort, by an ardent cultivation of the ancient arts, the ancient learning and wisdom, along the lines which modern educational and psychological science has discovered for our use, in such a way as to sow the seeds of a sturdy and self-reliant national growth in the fertile soil of childhood's training-ground.

By such means is it possible to awaken living interests, to appeal to inborn instincts and inherited associations, and thereby to train a character which shall discover both purpose and inspiration in the land of its birth. For each nation must inevitably find growth, direction and energy from within, before it can realise its true destiny, and bring to the common treasure-house of the world's civilisations the gift of its own particular and distinctive genius. For three generations, or more, under the security of the 'Pax Britannica', the national art of India has declined, education has been perverted, activity deflected from its normal course; thought has become atrophied, culture is suspended. The chastisement of our peace is upon them.

The civilisation of India has dwindled, during this period, to a memory, its cults and ceremonies to a lifeless observance; the motives and practice of daily life are sought from without. But for the jealous custody of their heritage by the women—at all times and in all countries the natural guardians of national culture—even the memory might have taken its place with the history of the past, and the links of the chain have been severed beyond all possibility of reunion. For the effort to revive a disused speech of an obsolete custom has never yet produced a national result; its utmost achievement is to stimulate interest and research among the learned, and to provide material for antiquarian discussion. India's civilisation, however, is not dead but dormant; and the spell of its long sleep is at last being broken. The renaissance of the present day seeks inspiration and guidance at its source. But with the reaction against the passive inertia of generations comes a certain danger from emotionalism—the mesmerism of bygone glories and the tendency to perpetuate past failings and ignorance because they form a part of sacred tradition. As it is the province of woman to guard and to preserve, so it must be the task of enlightened women to select that which is worthy of preservation and reject all that is no longer relevant. It is theirs to save and defend the vital element in tradition, the living heritage of faith and understanding, the special aspect of truth and beauty which finds separate embodiment in every people, grows with their growth and progresses with their progress.

With the awakening of a national consciousness, the motives for national reform have now become insistent. The outward expression of these motives—a symptom of all pioneer work—remains hitherto isolated and spasmodic. The tendency to theorise and debate, to discuss political actions and reactions, to deal with symptoms and externals, is still somewhat exaggerated. It is in the nurseries of to-day that the forces must be fostered and organised which

will hereafter work out the regeneration of India in harmony and co-operation; and this child-nurture should be made the first and permanent charge upon the time, energy and expenditure of all the reforming zeal which now seeks an outlet.

Finally, we must remember that, though the building up of India's future in the light of the present national revival must incontestably be planned and carried out by Indians and for Indians, the experience touches not India alone but all mankind. The world at large will be not only spectator but partaker of its results. When the light of Classic thought and Classic culture—the rediscovered treasures of Hellenic genius—dawned upon the darkened understanding of mediæval Europe, the day of a new era was born, and modern civilisation came into being. So, to complete the cycle, the impulse of modern thought and modern progress was carried in the last century to the Classic East. The normal effects of such a contact were, for the time being, delayed through artifice and experiment on the part of Anglo-Indian opinion. The 'Orientalists' would hear of no contamination of the new-found treasures of Eastern learning; the 'Anglicists' had no thought but to clean the slate and inscribe upon it the writing of the West. In the event, India has, to the outward eye, lain dormant under the imposition of an alien culture, substituted for her own, but never adapted to her needs. Yet the fruit of an unwilling union was maturing, in spite of conflict and reluctance; and the rebirth of to-day, however ardently national in form, owes its incentive to the direct influence of the West upon the East.

Throughout all recorded history the great civilisations of East and West have held singularly aloof from one another in all their inmost experiences. Conquest, invasion, and trade have effected an intercourse between the two in external dealings which has but deepened the instincts of mutual reserve. To-day we must learn a new lesson—that a freer interchange of thought and ideas between different peoples endangers nothing of permanent value, and obliterates only those characteristics which accident has fostered, while enriching the elements of their several strength. In its response to the stimulus of an outside influence, the culture of a people, no less than the character of an individual, can best realise its own purposes and powers, and achieve its highest self-development. Therefore, if the destinies of East and West are knit together at the present day, and for so long as the partnership may continue, let each see to it that the union may be productive of the best results, without compromise of sentiment or of conviction on either side, and lay the foundations of a larger development and a wider achievement than the world has yet witnessed.

Quarterly Review, London, April, 1918.

Rai Bahadur Sris Chandra Basu.

The subject of this sketch is one of the most eminent Indians of our time. His many qualities of head and heart are inherited from his father, Babu Shama Charan Basu, who soon after the annexation of the Punjab in 1849 came to Lahore and, after filling the Head Mastership of the school which was started under the auspices of the American Mission there, entered Government service.....

Rai Bahadur Sris Chandra Basu was about six years old—for he was born on the 20th March 1861

—when his father died. His education, therefore, had to be looked after by his mother. In his boyhood he gave proof of his remarkable intelligence and his academic career was a very brilliant one. He passed the Entrance Examination of the Calcutta University held in December 1876 with great distinction, standing first in the Punjab and third in order of merit in the University and was awarded a gold medal, books worth 50 rupees and the first scholarship in the province. He prosecuted his further studies in the Lahore Government College, from which he passed the First Examination in Arts in the first division in 1878, standing again first in the province. He took his B. A. degree in the first division, in January 1881, and then joined the Training College for Teachers which had been then recently established at Lahore. He passed the Final Examination—an examination corresponding to the L. T. Examination of our universities in these days—in the first division in 1882 and was appointed officiating second master of the Lahore District High School, from which he had passed the Entrance Examination of the Calcutta University. While serving as a teacher in this school, he studied law and appeared in January 1883 in the Vakildship Examination of the Allahabad High Court, which he passed with distinction.

Early in 1883, before the result of the Law Examination was out, there was established a Model School at Lahore, in connection with the Training College of which he was appointed Head Master. His success as a teacher, and the respect shown to him by his pupils pointed him out as the fit person for appointment to this prize post after only a few months' service in the Educational Department. He was the first Head Master of the first model school in India.

When the result of his law examination was out, he left the Educational Department and came to Meerut to practise his profession. After about three years' practice in the District Law Courts there, he came to Allahabad in 1886, to join the High Court bar. In his student days, Mr. Sris Chandra had learnt Mr. Pitman's system of shorthand and phonography which stood him in good stead at this time, for it was due to it that he was appointed Judgment Reporter in the High Court. As a shorthand reporter, Rai Bahadur Sris Chandra was, when he was in practice, singularly adept. Regarding his efficiency in shorthand writing Mrs. Annie Besant bears the following testimony:—"I am indebted to Babu Sris Chandra Basu, Munsif of Benares, for the



The Late Rai Bahadur Sris Chandra Basu.

wonderfully accurate report which he most kindly took of the discourses. I have been reported by the best London men, but have never sent a report to the press with less correction than that supplied by my amateur friend."

Babu Sris Chandra always has tried to master the subject he has taken in hand. When he made up his mind to master Hindu Law, translations in English of a few Hindu Law books did not satisfy him. He turned to the original authorities to study the subject. But the difficulty that he had to encounter was his ignorance of Sanskrit. When he settled down in practice he commenced its study. He found out for himself what the late Right Hon. Professor Max Muller wrote to him many years afterwards, namely that "no one knows Sanskrit who does not know Panini."

He took, therefore, to the study of Panini. The difficulty of Panini is well known to all Sanskrit

scholars. Students of the subject at Benares spend a dozen or more years in mastering it. In 1891, while still practising at the Allahabad High Court, he published the first chapter of the first book of Panini with its English translation and a commentary and copious explanatory notes. The publication was welcomed by leading Sanskrit scholars all over the world. Professor Max Muller who had then grown grey in the study of Sanskrit wrote to the author:—

"From what I have seen of it, it will be a very useful work. What should I have given for such a work forty years ago when I puzzled my head over Panini's Sūtras and the commentaries."

It is not necessary to give the opinions of other well-known Sanskrit scholars of Europe and America. But he found that he could not complete the self-imposed task satisfactorily, as the practice of his profession stood in his way of doing so. Either he should give up Panini or the practice of law. The edition of Panini, which he was bringing out, was meant to pave the way not only to the study of Hindu Law but of all the higher branches of Sanskrit learning. Remembering that no great cause has ever been achieved without sacrifice, he gave up the practice of his profession and entered the Provincial Judicial Service to which the Government was pleased to appoint him as a second grade Munsif and posted him to Ghazipur. He joined the service on the 11th April, 1892.

The Publication of his translation of Panini was delayed by many causes over which he had no control. He did not find that leisure in the service in the expectation of which he had given up the profession. At Ghazipur he had to try a very complicated case of Mahomedan Law. Can the Wahabis pray in the same mosque with the Sunnis? That was the dispute between the litigious parties who sought justice at his hands. Extensive reading of almost the whole literature of Mahomedan jurisprudence in the original Arabic—for which he had to get books published outside India, in Mahomedan countries such as Egypt and Persia, took him nearly a year to decide this important case. It is a decision which is of great value to Indian lawyers, for it has settled, once for all, a very moot point of Mahomedan Law.

In the beginning of 1896 he was transferred to Benares and here he saw more prospect of completing the translation and publication of Panini's Grammar. The work was completed towards the close of the year 1898. Professor Max Muller sent his congratulations to the author in the warmest language. He wrote:—"Allow me to congratulate you on your successful termination of Panini's Grammar. It was a great undertaking, and you have done your part of the work admirably. I say once more, what should I have given for such an edition of Panini when I was young, and how much time it would have saved me and others. Whatever people may say, no one knows Sanskrit who does not know Panini."

A portion of this work has been prescribed as a text-book in the M. A. Examination of the London University. It is the only instance of an Indian author's work finding a place in the curriculum of studies in the highest examination of an European University.

The Siddhanta Kaumudi of Bhattoji Dikshita in which Panini's aphorisms are rationally arranged, is studied by some students of Sanskrit almost all over India. The translation of this important work was taken in hand by the late Professor Horace

Hayman Wilson, the first Boden Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford, and it was advertised by the Oriental Translation Fund as under preparation more than three quarters of a century ago. But it was never published. Rai Bahadur Sris Chandra Basu, by completing the translation of this important work, has placed Sanskritists under great obligation to him.

The study of Hindu Law not only demands a very efficient knowledge of Sanskrit Grammar, but also of Hindu Philosophy, Upanishads, the Vedas, the Puranas, and even the Tantras. How carefully Rai Bahadur Sris Chandra Basu has studied these different branches of Sanskrit learning is evident from his "Catechism of Hinduism" which was published in 1899. The "Daily Practice of the Hindus" from his pen also is an evidence of his mastery of Hindu philosophy and learning.

At his suggestion was started the important and well-known series of the Sacred Books of the Hindus by the Panini Office of Allahabad and to this series he has contributed the translations of Isa, Kena, Katha, Prasna, Mundaka, Mandukya and Chandogya Upanishads, with the Commentary of Madhva, the Vedanta Sutra with the Commentary of Baladeva and two sections of Yajna-Valka Smṛiti with the Commentary known as Mitakshara and notes from the gloss Balamhathi. All these works have been very favourably spoken of by competent Sanskrit scholars of the East and the West.

Although Sris Chandra Basu's great ambition was to achieve a thorough mastery of Hindu Law in which, as shown above, he has remarkably succeeded, the study of religions has been very dear to him. He has devoted much of his time to the comparative study of religions. Like the great Raja Ram Mohan Roy, he has studied the religious scriptures of the principal faiths of India from their original sources. A thorough master of Sanskrit and Arabic, the study of the Sacred Books of the Hindus and Mahomedans in the original did not present any difficulty to him. But he had to learn Hebrew and Greek to understand the Old and New Testaments of the Christians.

His creditable knowledge of Latin, French and German shows the interest he has also taken in comparative philology.

Serious scholars are generally known to be devoid of what is called "wit and humour." But his "Folk Tales of Hindustan" shows how cleverly he can wield his pen for writing stories interesting and entertaining to the old and the young alike. These stories have been published by him under the pseudonym of *Shaik Chilli*. In reviewing them, the late Mr. Stead wrote in the *Review of Reviews* for October, 1917:—"Stories of a type that recall the delightful romances of the Arabian Nights." We may safely predict that like the Arabian Nights entertainments, these stories will be eagerly read in ages to come by all classes of people. These have already been translated into Bengali and their translations in some other vernaculars are in course of preparation.

Rai Bahadur Sris Chandra Basu has also done a good deal in the cause of education. While practising his profession at Allahabad, he found that there was no school for the education of Indian girls there. The only school which existed at that time was conducted by the Zenana Mission whose aim was conversion. A girls' school was urgently needed and he worked hard to establish it. It was opened on the New Year's Day of 1888. It was the first school of its kind in Allahabad and is still in existence.

He was Sub-judge of Bareilly when His Majesty King-Emperor Edward VII breathed his last. As a fitting memorial to our late beloved Sovereign, he suggested to the public the establishment of a school bearing the Emperor's name. He has been instrumental in bringing this school into existence.

Sris Chandra Basu takes great interest in the Central Hindu College, of which he has been a trustee and a member of the managing committee ever since its foundation, and his connection with the Theosophical Society dates from 1880.

His "Easy Introduction to Yoga Philosophy," "Shiva Samhita," "Gheranda Samhita," "Three Truths of Theosophy," "Compass of Truth," and introductions to Mr. Ram Prasada's translation of Yoga Sutras of Patanjali, and Mr. Ernest Wood's translation of the Garuda Purana show how his

active mind is in eager pursuit of realising the true nature of the higher self.

Public honours and distinctions do not, as a rule, come to those who do not seek for them. Yet he has been their recipient without in any way soliciting for them. In 1900, he was nominated by Government a Fellow of the Allahabad University. In recognition of his services as an able judicial officer, he was created a Rai Bahadur by the Government of India on the Coronation Day of His Most Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor George V. He is also a recipient of the Coronation Darbar Medal. For a man of his retiring nature, a scholar and thinker, these distinctions show the esteem in which he is held by the Government whom he and his family have most loyally served for two generations.—*The Pioneer*, December 22, 1912.

NEPALESE LIFE AND THOUGHT FROM THE BENGALI STANDPOINT

NEPAL IS INHABITED BY MANY NATIONS.

FIRST of all, if by the word "Nepalese" we mean simply an inhabitant of the territory of Nepal we are quite correct. But if by that term we understand a homogeneous people with one religion, one language, one set of manners and customs and the same habits of life and thought, we are seriously mistaken. In Bengal and Upper India—in fact in almost every province of India—the spoken dialect differs in different districts, but it is understood all over the province. It is difficult for one to believe me when I say that an inhabitant of the Nepal territory may very often have a neighbour not a syllable of whose conversation he is able to understand. Thus, the Limboo, whose home lies between the Mechi and the Arūn rivers in Eastern Nepal, has a dialect different from that of the Kiratis who occupy the trans-Arūn region. And the Newars, the Mangars, the Gūrūngs, the Yakhas (Sanskrit Yakshas), the Sunwars, the Tamangs, &c., have each a separate dialect, a separate form of worship, separate manners and customs and separate habits of life. There is of course a lingua franca for the whole of Nepal which is understood all over the territory. This is the language of the Brahmans and Chhetris, usually known as Khās Kūrā or the dialect of the Khās or Chhetris.

The following types of physiognomy

are found among the different castes of the Nepalese :—

A. LONG-NOSED TYPE (with long nose, big eyes and tall stature)

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Brahman (Upadhyaya) | } Higher castes. Do not drink wine. |
| 2. Jaisi Brahman (a mixed caste) | |
| 3. Thakuri (a high class Chhetri) | |
| 4. Chhetri | |
| 5. Newar (Clerk and trader) | } Middle in rank and clean caste. |
| 6. Kami (Smith) | |
| 7. Sarki (Cobbler) | } Unclean lower castes. Drink wine. |
| 8. Dāmi (Tailor) | |

B. MEDIUM TYPE (with nose, eyes and stature intermediate between types A and C).

- | | |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Mangar (Soldier class in Nepal) | } Clean castes. Drink wine. |
| 2. Gūrūngs (Shepherds) | |
| 3. Tāmāngs (Nepalese Bhūtiā) | |

C. MONGOLIAN TYPE (with flat nose, small oblique eyes and short stature).

- | | |
|-------------------------|---|
| 1. Limboo | } Of Eastern Nepal. Clean castes. Drink wine. |
| 2. Jimdār or Kirāti | |
| 3. Yākha (Sans. Yaksha) | |

MENTAL AND LINGUISTIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PEOPLE.

Type A.

Intelligent.
Enterprising.
Shrewd.
Thrifty.

2—5 able leader, holding all the high offices in Nepal.

Language same except that of the Newars.

N. B. (i) The Newars are the most intelligent of this type. (ii) All the unclean castes (i.e. those whose water is not drunk by the higher castes) are included in this type.

Type B.

Intelligence inferior to that of type A.



Type A of the Nepalese.



Type B of the Nepalese.

Enterprising.
Improvident.
More hardy than type A.
Each of these has a separate dialect.

Type C.

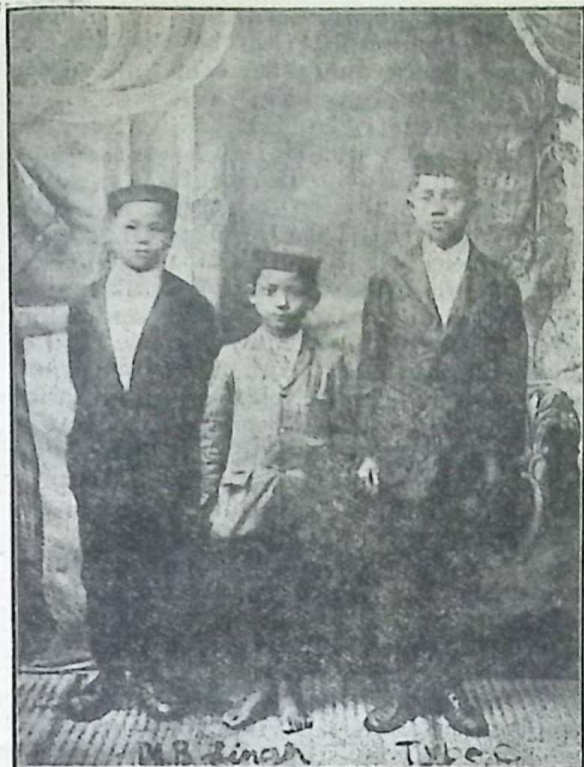
Intelligence inferior to that of types A and B.
Enterprising.
Improvident.
Very hardy with a fighting spirit.
Each has a separate dialect.
Inter-marriage allowed between 1 & 2.

FACTORS OF UNITY AMONG THE NEPALESE.

A foreigner is therefore likely to err in his estimate of the tone of Nepalese life and thought, even when he directly comes in contact with them, as he is liable to generalize from specific instances of one class of Nepalese. Yet there are some predominant factors tending to unite these rather heterogeneous races. Let us notice them as briefly as possible.

(i) The political factor.

In the year 1769 A.D., a Gurkha chief of Western Nepal, named Prithinarayan, conquered the valley of Nepal then occupied by the Newar kings. He subsequently extended his conquest to Eastern Nepal bringing under subjection, after a continuous and severe struggle, the brave and hardy Kiratis and Limboos of Eastern Nepal. Khās Kūra, or the dialect of the



Type C of the Nepalese.

Chhetris, has gained currency in Nepal since then.

(ii) Common religion.

The evolution of Hinduism in the Nepal of today is worth a careful study. It is interesting to note that the whole of Eastern Nepal, which formerly professed Lamaism in some form or other, has adopted Hinduism, beneath the veneer of which Lamaism is still traceable. The problem of the lower castes in Bengal still remains practically unsolved. But in Nepal it has been solved by the ruler. There, the Lamaists have not only been brought within the pale of Hinduism but water touched by them can be freely used by all the higher castes. This is mainly due to the influence of the ruler of Nepal over the Nepalese society. Through this influence even the Bhutias and Lepchas of Nepal have been admitted into the rank of clean castes whose water can be used by all the higher castes. He exerts an influence over the Nepalese even outside the Nepal territory. By the law of Nepal a criminal may lose his caste by way of punishment for a very serious offence.



Type C.

Sardar Bahadur Bhimdal Dewan,
Retired Dy. Supdt. of Police.

Thus, the people of Nepal feel that they are bound by a common cord of unity. Such proverbs as

1. खानु त एकइ सुठि, बसनु त नेपालइ ।

Let me stay in Nepal even though I may have just a handful of food to eat.

2. अरु ठाँउको दुध भात र नेपाल को सिनु भात ।

Rice and milk of other places equal nettle-curry and rice of Nepal, clearly show how they are fond—and even proud—of their mother country.

CHARACTERISTICS OF NEPALESE LIFE.

The Nepalese has some general characteristics which are worth notice.

Firstly, he is brave and likes to be called so. Over 75 per cent. of the Nepalese names bear the words वीर or बाहादुर।

८९ { वीर	{ वीर
{ बाहादुर	{ बाहादुर
{ वीर	{ वीर
{ बाहादुर	{ बाहादुर
{ वीर	
{ बाहादुर	

So very fond are the people of the word वीर, that they apply it to almost every form of praise, e. g., praise for generosity, honesty, charity, kindness, etc. A form of salutation in Nepal is जय देओ "Give me victory."

Secondly, the next virtue in a Nepalese is his spirit of obedience. Visitors to Darjeeling often experience it. When a passer-by wants a Nepalese to pluck a wild flower or orchid for him from a difficult place, the request is readily complied with. The best example of this habit of obedience is found in the jails of Nepal. The prisoners are sometimes sent on business without a guard to distances involving two to three days' journey and it is expected that these prisoners would willingly return to the jail, and strange to say, they do actually return there. The political incidents connected with the career of General Bhim Singh afford another striking example of the obedience of the soldiers to the power that be. Yet one feels that this is an honourable sort of obedience free from that mean and obsequious slavishness which is often so disgusting.

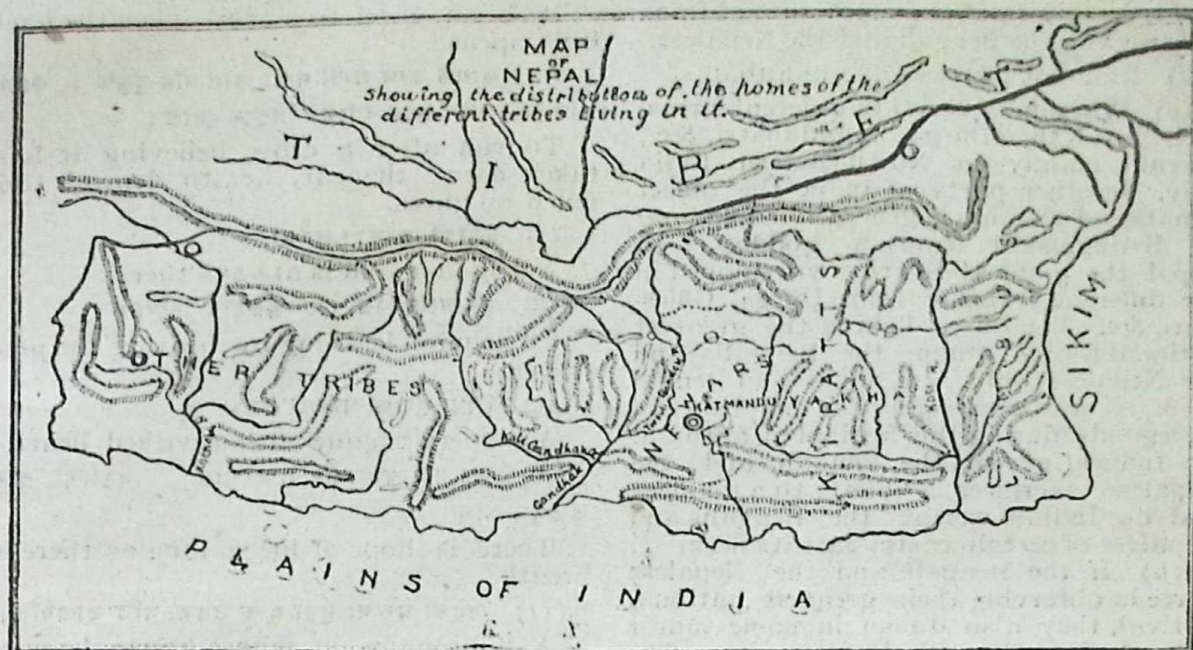
Thirdly, the Nepalese has a dashing spirit. He is hardy, energetic and enterprising. His active habit is apparent to any casual observer who sees him only walking along the streets of Darjeeling. Loads of one-and-a-half to two maunds are often carried by them from a distance of 50 miles across a mountainous region without any good road. In the forests of Assam may be seen a number of Nepalese keeping large herds of buffaloes which yield them good incomes. The available jungle lands of the Kalimpong subdivision in Darjeeling have been reclaimed mainly by Nepalese labour and energy. The Nepalese immigrants have settled also in Burma and Bhutan. In the hill portion of the Darjeeling district the Nepalese popu-

lation by far preponderates over others. Over half the population of the district including the Teraie (where the bulk of the people are non-Nepalese) is Nepalese. In the polyglot district of Darjeeling, Nepalese has assumed the position of lingua franca. All walks of life in Darjeeling, ranging from the tea-garden cooli to the Sub-Deputy Magistrate or Deputy Superintendent of Police, the Nepalese are in possession. At present there is a sprinkling of graduates and undergraduates and a few matriculates among them; and the need of education, at least from the vocational point of view, is being felt. As an instance of Nepalese enterprise I may quote that of a Nepalese tea-garden cooli at Kurseong who amassed about ten thousand rupees by dairy farming in Burma. Such instances can be very easily multiplied.

Some of the ancient customs that linger among the Nepalese of to-day are those of female liberty and Brahman teachers giving free tuition to scholars residing with them, both the teachers and the scholars being supported by free grants of land from the State. A thriving institution of this kind may be seen at Dingla on the Arun river near Bhojpur.

SLAVERY IN NEPAL.

It may cause the refined taste of the twentieth century to shudder to hear that slavery actually exists in Nepal and to know that human beings are bought and sold there. Yet one needs being undeceived if one expects to see the horrible scene of a Brazilian slave market repeated in Nepal. The slaves are called Kamara (कमारा) and Kamari (कमारी)—most probably the colloquial forms of कुमार and कुमारी। They live with their masters in the same house or compound and are well fed and clad and enjoy more comforts than the average workman in Nepal. The master bears the expense of marrying his Kamārā to a Kamāri bought for the purpose. Of course he does so out of economic consideration—to add to his live stock. The slave has a caste corresponding to that of his master. Sometimes a slave is given liberty by his master. A slave thus liberated by a Chhetri master is called a Khōas. In the next generation, the Khoas becomes a Gharti, and in the third generation the family name of the master, namely, Chhetri is assumed. The evolution is rather interesting but such a family occupies a comparatively



lower position in society. Another name for a slave in Nepal is Bajjiya. Might not the original slaves be the captives taken from the vanquished Bijjis (or Brijjis) whose kingdom lay on the northern side of the Ganges, as they might have fought against their neighbour, the Lichhavis of Nepal, the territory of the latter extending upto the banks of the Ganges as far as modern Hajipur?

THE NEPALESE LANGUAGE.

As an Indian vernacular Nepalese has some characteristics which may well engage our attention.

(i) It has very largely drawn upon Sanskrit for its stock of words: e. g., some of its colloquial words are:—

तस्कर	हिज (Sans. ह्यः)	उपद्रव
मसौ	बुढ़ा (नि + वृद्ध + क्त)	शिखर (peak)
श्वेत	तितिरि (tamarind)	तरुणी (maid)
अमिल (Sans. अमृ) प्रीति		

(ii) It has a liking for words of liquid sound, e. g.,

कोसल (soft)
कलिल (fresh)
हिमाल बुलि (snowy peak)
खासौ (wife) [Sans. स्त्रिया]

(iii) The doubly long vowel sound called *सुत* in Sanskrit is used in colloquial

Nepalese, e. g., when he wants to emphasize the *आ* in काल (black) the Nepalese will say का-आ-ल, also श्व-ए-त (white), रा-आ-त (red).

POINTS OF SIMILARITY BETWEEN THE BENGALI AND THE NEPALESE PEOPLES.

There is a striking resemblance between the Bengali and Nepalese life and thought. I propose to place here some data to bring the point home to the reader's mind.

(1) SIMILARITY OF MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

(a) The custom of Bengal allows cutting jokes among certain relations only.

E.g. Between Sister-in-Law and sister's husband.
Brother-in-Law and sister's husband.
Grand-father and grand-son.
Grand-mother and grand-children.

This custom also prevails among the Nepalese.

On the other hand, among the Bengalis there are certain other relations, sometimes within the same family, whom a woman may not touch, even through an intervening stuff, or speak to. These are the husband's elder brother or maternal uncle. The Nepalese woman also respects the same custom.

(b) Salutation by touching the feet is not so much in fashion among our up-

countrymen; but the fashion obtains both among the Bengali and the Nepalese.

(2) RELIGIOUS RITES AND CEREMONIES.

(a) Worship of *Sakti* in different forms, such as Kālī, Dūrgā, Jagaddhātṛī, &c., prevails mainly in North-eastern India only. In other parts of India the object of national worship is generally some *god* as distinguished from a goddess. In Nepal the goddess *Sakti* is worshipped in her different forms of Kālī, Dūrgā, Gūjeswari, &c. The Durga Puja is the greatest national festival among the Bengalis and the Nepalese only. In Nepal and Bengal there is an abnormal consumption of piecegoods during this festival in autumn. No Indian, except the Bengali and the Nepalese, sacrifices a buffalo to a goddess and no Indian except the Bengalis and Nepalese of certain castes eats its flesh.

(b) If the Bengali and the Nepalese agree in observing their greatest national festival, they also do so in some minor festivals in a remarkable manner. The Bhātridwīti festival is celebrated both by the Nepalese and Bengali on the 2nd day after the new moon following the Durgapuja and it involves substantially the same rites in both the cases. This ceremony is not observed in Upper India.

(3) IDEAS EXPRESSED IN PROVERBS.

National thought in every country is reflected in its proverbs. It is remarkable, therefore, how a large number of Nepalese proverbs are also current in Bengal, although they are not so much in use in Bihar or the United Provinces. I would draw the attention of the reader to a few of them here, viz.,

(1) আদর হাছ জগনাথ। আপন হাত জগনাথ।

One may take the lion's share when food is served with one's own hand.

(2) আড়লি খেলি খাড়ল মা আদৈ মির্জ। "স্বাদ মিলিলে ভবে মরি খান্না।"

One falls into the pit dug by oneself.

(3) হুন্ডকী মুখেছি স্বর্গকী বাত।

To speak about heaven before *Indra* (who is the king of heaven).

(4) ভদকী মাছা তুঙী। যে মাছটা পালায় সেটাই বড়।

The fish missed by the angler is big.

(5) কানডা হিঁস মকর কমা? বেল-পাকলে কাগের কি?

It is no good to a crow when the *bael* fruit ripens.

(6) কামলি কাছ লম্বো মন্দা কাগ পছি ডুকুর্ন। কাগে কান নিয়ে গেল শুনে কাগের পিছনে দৌড়।

To run after a crow believing it has taken away the ear, i.e., to depend too much on guess.

(7) কুবাকী মাকুরা কুবৈমা।

A frog in a well is always there.

(8) যুব মারি বিয়ে। গুরুমারা বিদ্যে।

To acquire learning by beating the preceptor.

(9) বিম্র মুখকী ধমিলি পেট।

A slippery tongue with a wicked heart.

(10) জব সম্ম আশ, তব সম্ম আশ। যতক্ষণ আশ ততক্ষণ আশ।

There is hope of life so long as there is breath.

(11) জমকী ঘর মা মুসা বজ্জ উমকী নাভ লাখপতি।

A millionaire in whose house the mice are crying (ironical).

(12) জাতকী বরৈ জাতৈ।

One's own caste-people are one's enemy.

(13) এক মাঘলি জাড়ী জান্দহন। এক মাঘে জাড় পালায় না।

Winter does not end with one *maḥ* (the coldest month of the year).

(14) বন ভরকী সবাদলি দেখছ মন ভরকী কমদলি দেখছ ন।

Every one sees when a forest is on fire but none sees when the mind is burning (with grief).

(15) বনকী বাখলি খাবস ন খাবস মনকী বাখলি খাব মকছ।

The tiger in the forest may not eat one, but the tiger in the mind (imagination) does so.

(4) POPULARITY OF MAHABHARAT.

It is noteworthy that *Ramayana* is more widely known in Upper India than *Mahabharat* and over 75 per cent. of the Hindu names in Upper India bear the word *Rama*. But even the common facts of *Mahabharat* are not so widely known there. But in Bengal and Nepal *Mahabharat* is as widely known as *Ramayan*.

(5) LINGUISTIC COINCIDENCES.

The genius and drift of Bengali and Nepalese seem to be singularly similar.

We may notice the following points in this connection.—

(a) The vocal organs of the people of a country become habitually adapted to the utterance of its language. So the Bengali tongue, in spite of its marvellous capacity for distinct articulation, is not suitable for many of the Indian vernaculars—not to speak of a foreign tongue. The letters ক, চ, ট, ত, প and their aspirates খ, ছ, ঠ, থ, ফ are often confounded by the average Englishman and the opposite mistake is generally committed by most of us in pronouncing the English consonants. The vocal habit is ingrained in our very constitution—the whole muscular and nervous system. Now, the Bengali and the Nepalese can pick up each other's language with remarkable facility. The average educated Nepalese feels quite at ease in speaking Bengali and generally speaks it with great fluency. He speaks it with far more ease and grace than the average educated Bihari. On the other hand a Bengali picks up Nepalese more quickly than the average Bihari does, or more quickly than the Bengali can pick up Hindi. What I mean to suggest here is the probability of similar adjustments of the vocal organs of the Bengali and the Nepalese peoples. When I first came to the Darjeeling district the words passing between two quarrelling Nepalese women struck me as those exchanged by two quarrelling Bengali women, showing that the vocal expressions of the weaker sex of the two countries in a state of violent emotion are alike.

(b) In order to understand another linguistic similarity I would invite the attention of the reader to one feature of the *Uria* language in which the terminal অ is always sounded against the omission of this sound in Hindi. Thus, an *Uria* will not say জল or ফল, but জল-অ and ফল-অ। I very vividly remember the exclamation of an *Uria* Brahman when admiring an image of the goddess Saraswati.

“কেবল অ জীবন-অ তাস-অ ন করিলা নতুবা ত তচ্ছ, কপ-অ।”

So in Hindi, the words कर्म and धर्म are pronounced as कर्म and धर्म। The Nepalese and Bengali languages are accommodating enough either to keep or to drop the sound of final অকার।

(c) Both in colloquial Nepalese and Bengali the final অ or আ is changed into ঞ। E.g.,

Nepalese

রাম	রামে
হর্ষ	হর্ষে
অন্তর	অন্তরে
ধর্ম্ম	ধর্ম্মে
কাল	কালে
রণ (বাহির)	রণে
চতুর	চতুরে

(d) The following among other words of the Nepalese language are also used (sometimes with a slight change) in Bengali.

বিয়া (marriage)	মিত্র (a friend) used in a slightly different sense in Bengali.
সাথী (companion)	বিপত্তি (danger)
শীতল (cool)	বন (forest)
জল (water)	মুখ (face)
প্ৰীতি (love)	আংগ (Sans. অঙ্গ = body)
মায়া (affection)	যাত্রা { starting a singing party.
মিঠো (tasteful)	বালক (child, in Bengali the word indicates male sex only)
আশিস (blessing)	
কেশ (hair)	
খেত (white)	
হরিণ (Sans. হরিং)	
কাঁড়া (thorn, Bengali কাটা)	

The inflection “নু” added to a verbal root is the sign of the Nepalese infinitive mood.

বিসিন্নু (Sans. বিস্মরণ) পীরাউনু (Beng. পীড়া দেওয়া)

We may account for Sanskrit words used by two Sanskritized Indian vernaculars—though it is noteworthy that most of these words do not occur in Hindi—but how are we to explain the use of words of non-Sanskritic origin in the two languages?

The following are some of such words.

Nepalese	Bengali
হাই উঠানু	হাই তোলা
লুকনু	লুকাইয়া থাকা
খোজনু	খোজা
চোপা লাগনু	চোপা (মুখ) বন্ধ করা
বাতি নিভানু	বাতি নিভান

ধের	ডের
মলুগু (fried Indian corn)	মলুখে (fried rice in some district)
সাদো	শাঁকো
ঘর	ঘর
ঘর জুই (ব = w)	ঘর জামাই
বাতাস	বাতাস
কপাল {hair lot	কপাল (lot)
গরু (bull)	গরু (cow or bull)
কাথ	কাথ
দাদু	দাদা
দিদি	দিদি
বা	বাবা
আমা	মা
মামা	মামা
খণ্ডরা	খণ্ডর
বিহান্ (morning)	বিহান্ (morning)
বেলুকা	বিকাল

(c) The interrogative particle কি is used in both Bengali and Nepalese.

(f) The verbal inflection ইন্ is used in both the languages.

(g) The pronouns of the two languages are also somewhat alike ; e.g.,

Nepalese	Bengali
মো	আমি
তপাই	আপনি
তিনি	তুমি
তোয়া	তুই
তিয়ে	{ তিনি সে

(h) A Nepalese manuscript written about the 12th century A.D. has been brought from Nepal by Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Haraprasad Shastri, the script of which bears a strong resemblance to the Bengali alphabet.

Mahakal Lodge,
Darjeeling.
The 24th June, 1917. } SUKHARANJAN BOSE,
Assistant Master,
Darjeeling High
School.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

English Education.

M. E. Sadler contributes to the *Mysore Economic Journal* for May a thoughtful article in the course of which he reviews the two currents in public feeling about English Education.

On the one hand there is a just sense of pride in the rapid development of our secondary schools both for boys and girls, as well as of our Universities and of the institutions which give advanced instruction in science as applied to industries. The whole outlook for secondary and advanced education is brighter than it has been before. This far-reaching change has been brought about in the course of twenty years.

On the other hand, there is a feeling of disappointment with some of the results of the elementary schools. Employers complain that boys are not so accurate as boys used to be when education cost less and school-life was shorter. There is also a good deal of concern at the want of sustained interest in serious things which is shown by the great majority of young people who have recently left the elementary schools.

The debt which England owes to its elementary schools is thus set forth :

Careful observers note an increased orderliness in English crowds. There is more self-command, less roughness, a stronger feeling for public order. Again, not a week passes without record in the newspapers of some noble deed of courage or heroism, done without hope of reward but in unflinching and ready obedience to the claims of duty and human brotherhood, by some man or woman obscure in station but quick to respond in the hour of sudden need to a call which may entail injury or death. For this also the nation's gratitude is due in part to the influence of the schools and of devoted teachers working in them. Further the good sense and good temper of the Boy Scouts show what excellent material the elementary schools are turning out, and how ready are great numbers of their former pupils to throw themselves with energy and obedience into an attractive form of self-training and of corporate service. Lastly, there have gone forward from the elementary schools during the last twenty years a large and increasing number of boys and girls who have won distinction at secondary schools

and Universities and have proved themselves worthy of high positions of responsibility in different departments of the national life.

But the Britishers who hold the reins of government in India have not yet been able to make up their mind to open the doors of elementary education to the masses of the people. Those of our countrymen who fight shy of the idea of making primary education free and compulsory in India should ponder over the foregoing extract.

But the learned writer is of opinion that a new spirit is wanted in the elementary schools of England.

They need more freedom—even freedom to make mistakes, freedom to get a more independent life. A school, if it is to do its utmost in forming character, needs to have a character, an individuality, of its own. The teachers, if trusted more and less restricted in their work by regulations, would bring greater freshness and spontaneity into the work of the schools. It is true that we should have to pay a price for this. Things would not go well everywhere; especially at first there would be some confusion and irregularity. But in the long run freedom would bring new life. To make the head teachers of elementary schools freer in the conditions of their work; to throw on them greater individual responsibility for the planning of the course of study and for the methods of school work; to give them freedom in the choosing of their assistants; to entrust to them, in short, powers like those which are enjoyed by the head-masters and head-mistresses of secondary schools would be but to take a step further on the road of liberty in school organization which we have already followed so far with, in the main, good results. With this increased freedom the work of the teacher would become more attractive, because more interesting and responsible. The status of the profession would rise along with an increasing interest among its members in the intellectual and scientific sides of the work of teaching. We should find not only that the teachers ought to be paid more but that to pay them more in return for this finer quality of service would be the most remunerative of public investments.

The Character of English Poetry.

Writing in *Arya* for June Aurobindo Ghose asserts that it may be said without serious doubt, that of all the modern European tongues the English language has produced the most rich and naturally powerful poetry, the most lavish of energy and innate genius; yet, whereas, in the shaping of European culture, the poetic mind of Greece and Rome, Italian poetry of the great age, French prose and poetry, the Spain of Calderon and the Germany of Goethe not excepting even the newly created Russian literature—all these have

contributed more or less, we find the literature of the English tongue,—leaving aside Richardson and Scott in fiction and Shakespeare and Byron in poetry,—always receiving much from the central body of European culture but returning upon it very little.

The writer proceeds to dilate upon the special features of English poetry and incidentally on other European poetry.

English poetry is powerful but it is imperfect, strong in spirit, but uncertain and tentative in form; it is extraordinarily stimulating, but not often quite satisfying. It aims high, but its success is not as great as its effort. Especially its imaginative force exceeds its thought-power; it has indeed been hardly at all a really great instrument of poetic thought-vision; it has not dealt fruitfully with life. Its history has been more that of individual poetic achievements than of a constant national tradition; in the mass it has been a series of poetical revolutions without any strong inner continuity. That is to say that it has had no great self-recognising idea or view of life expressing the spiritual attitude of the nation and finding successfully from an early time its own sufficient artistic forms.

No poetry has had so powerful an influence as Greek poetry; no poetry is, I think, within its own limits so perfect and satisfying. The limits indeed are marked and even, judged by the undulating mansidedness and wideness of the modern mind, narrow; but on its own lines this poetry works with a flawless power and sufficiency. From beginning to end it dealt with life from one large view-point, that of the inspired reason and the enlightened and chastened aesthetic sense; whatever changes overtook it, it never departed from this motive which is of the very essence of the Greek spirit. And of this motive it was very conscious, and by its clear recognition of it and fidelity to it, it was able to achieve an artistic beauty and sufficiency of expressive form which affect us like an easily accomplished miracle and which have been the admiration of after ages. Even the poetry of the Greek decadence preserved enough of the power to act as a shaping influence on Latin poetry.

French poetry is much more limited than the Greek, much less powerful in inspiration. For it deals with life from the standpoint not of the inspired reason, but of the clear-thinking intellect, not of the enlightened aesthetic sense, but of emotional sentiment. These are its two constant powers; the one gives it its brain-stuff, the other its poetical fervour and appeal. Throughout all the changes of the last century, in spite of apparent cultural revolutions, the French spirit has remained in its poetry faithful to these two motives which are of its very essence, and therefore too it has always or almost always found its satisfying and characteristic form.

The poetry of a nation is only one side of its self-expression and its characteristics may be best understood if we look at it in relation to the whole mental and dynamic effort of the people. When we come to the field of thought we get a mixed impression like that of great mountain eminences towering out of a very low and flat plain. We find great individual philosophers, but no great philosophical tradition, two or three

remarkable thinkers, but no high fame for thinking, many of the most famous names in science, but no national scientific culture. Still in these fields there has been remarkable accomplishment and the influence on European thought has been occasionally considerable and sometimes capital. But when finally we turn to the business of practical life, there is an unqualified preeminence: in mechanical science and invention, in politics, in commerce and industry; in colonisation, travel, exploration, in the domination of earth and the exploitation of its riches England has been, till late, largely, sometimes entirely the world's leader, the shaper of its motives and the creator of its forms.

This peculiar distribution of the national capacities finds its root in certain racial characteristics. We have first the dominant Anglo-Saxon strain quickened, lightened and given force, power and initiative by the Scandinavian and Celtic elements. This mixture has made a national mind remarkably dynamic and practical, with all the Teutonic strength, patience, industry, but liberated from the Teutonic heaviness and crudity, yet retaining enough not to be too light of balance or too sensitive to the shocks of life; therefore, a nation easily first in practical intelligence and practical dealing with the facts and difficulties of life. Not, be it noted, by any power of clear intellectual thought or by force of imagination or intellectual intuition, but rather by a strong vital instinct, a sort of tentative dynamic intuition. No spirituality, but a robust ethical turn; no innate power of the word, but a strong turn for action; no fine play of emotion or quickness of sympathy, but an abundant energy and force of will. This is one element of the national mind; the other is the submerged, half-insistent Celtic, gifted with precisely the opposite qualities, inherent spirituality, the gift of the word, the rapid and brilliant imagination, the quick and luminous intelligence, the strong emotional force and sympathy, the natural love of the things of the mind and still more of those beyond the mind, left to it from an old forgotten culture in its blood which contained an ancient mystical tradition. From the ferment of these two elements arise both the greatness and the limitations of English poetry.

Co-operation Among Factory Workers.

Vithaldas D. Thackersey writes in the *Bombay Co-operative Quarterly* for June to point out the difficulties in the way of forming and successfully managing co-operative societies among mill-hands of Bombay. Says he:

The first difficulty is the apathy displayed by those entrusted with the internal management of the mills. The manager has enormous responsibilities to discharge, and his whole time is taken up with important work. He has neither the time nor the patience to attend to the slow and tedious work of a co-operative society, and, therefore, he is indifferent about it. The persons who have got the largest amount of influence with the work-people are the jobbers in the various departments, and the jobbers invariably lend their own money at high rates of interest, generally about one anna per rupee per month to the men in their departments; and they naturally would never encourage their work-people to

join a co-operative society. Then the mill-hands have a tendency to change their place of work. This is due partly to the practice of returning to the native villages very frequently. There is, therefore, hardly any personal sympathy between the workmen and the departmental manager, which can be the outcome only of many years of mutual contact. In some cases the friends or proteges of some head-clerk or a jobber lend money to mill-hands, and they do their best to discourage the movement. The main trouble, of course, is that the men themselves are illiterate and ignorant and do not understand or appreciate the benefits of co-operation, and are, therefore, easily led away by others who have got their own axes to grind.

Regarding the heavy indebtedness of the mill-hands though they are among the best paid laborers in the city, the total income of many families ranging from Rs. 35 to Rs. 45, Mr. Thackersey observes:

The first cause is the irregularity the average workman shows at his work. There is then the worker's love of his home in the Konkan villages where he invariably owns a piece of land and where the elders of his family stay. In order to pay taxes on his holding, which does not in all cases have a sufficient margin for the assessment, and to maintain the other members of his family, he regularly sends a portion of his earnings, and once in two years he takes a long holiday from his work. Even while in Bombay he hardly works twenty days in the month, and the increase of salary in recent years instead of raising his standard of living has only made him more irregular in his work. Another prominent cause of his indebtedness is the habit of spending money on drink, for which ample facilities always exist near the place of work, so that as soon as the workman leaves the factory after a full day's work it is difficult for him to resist the temptation of the grog-shops which are to be seen here, there, and everywhere. The workman has also to incur heavy debts for meeting the expenses of marriages and other quasi-religious ceremonies in the family. Finally, as the money-lenders in Bombay to whom he is indebted are also grain-dealers, these dealers take full advantage of their client's weakness and obtain the utmost possible profit in fixing the prices of articles of daily consumption supplied to him in anticipation of the receipt of his wages.

The writer is of opinion that with a proper organisation it is possible to do a great deal and makes the following concrete proposals for consideration:

Such of the mill-owners as would like to assist their employees should combine and agree to help them to the best of their ability. A central organisation should be established for the purpose of organising and thereafter supervising the co-operative societies in different mills. The organisation should consist of a full-time paid agency with a large staff trained in propagandist work and in the routine administration of the co-operative societies; and the duty of the workers of this organisation would be to visit the mills, explain the objects of the movement and with the help of the managers try to form societies in the different departments or in convenient

groups. They should select intelligent leaders, who may have influence with the working people as members of the managing committees, attend the meetings of the managing committees, guide them in the matter of sanctioning loans, assist in keeping accounts, and otherwise train the members to manage their own affairs in the near future. Other social work may also be undertaken. On Sundays and holidays the organisers may arrange for meetings, or sports, or *Kirtans*. With the support of the

residents of the locality in which they carry on work and other influential persons the organisers might approach Government to remove the sources of temptation which at present exist under the policy of providing grog-shops near the homes of the mill hands. They should assist in providing tea or coffee-shops at convenient centres in open compounds. To these places of recreation the work-people may possibly be attracted if proper efforts are made.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Democracy and Leadership.

In the course of a short but thoughtful article contributed to the *New Witness* Cecil Chesterton examines the hypothesis that "the modern world has so interpreted democracy as to make its ideal a dead level of mere *similarity* wherein genius and especially the genius for leadership finds no scope." Says he:

If our poverty in great leadership was due to democracy or even to a misunderstanding of democracy, we should expect to find it appearing only where democracy exists or where, at least, a profession of democracy is made. Yet, it shows itself most markedly not only in England, where an oligarchy rules under the thinnest of democratic pretenses, but in Germany, where even the pretense is abandoned and democracy even as an ideal is despised.

Considering all that was involved in the Mediæval conception of a King—the Sacramental Man who summed up a nation—the writer observes:

That they were all born men of genius is quite incredible. Genius is an accident. It cannot be bred on stud-farm principles, though no doubt plenty of exponents of "Modern Thought" would be ready enough to make the attempt. These Kings were just ordinary men picked out at random, but they were expected to become something more than men, something enormous and almost supernatural, true representatives, incarnations of the national will. The extent to which so amazing a demand was met is a proof of how much it is in ordinary men to be when extraordinary things are asked of them. In a word, it is a proof of the democratic thesis.

Mediæval Monarchy has everywhere disappeared from Europe. The crowned officials who appear as figure-heads for the English plutocracy or the Prussian bureaucracy have no claim of such representative character as belonged to the anointed ruler of the thirteenth century. France, removing the Crown, has created a similar official figure-head called "President," and has carefully kept the appointment a

gratuity at the disposal of the professional Parliamentarians. Only in one place, and that a place where even the memory of the Middle Ages had never been, do we find something like the Mediæval idea of a personal ruler incarnating a nation. We find it in the great Elective Monarchy founded by Andrew Jackson. And there, we find the Mediæval miracle repeated, the ordinary man becoming extraordinary because it is demanded of him that he shall be not a man but a Nation.

If the popular will be indeed the real inspiration of leadership, why has it so largely failed the modern world? It is because "Modernism" ends logically and ultimately in Materialism: and Materialism is the denial of will.

Paying Calls in August.

The following satire translated by Arthur Waley from the Chinese of Ch'eng Hsiao (3rd cent. A.D.) appears in the *New Statesman*.

When I was young, throughout the hot season
There were no carriages driving about the roads.
People shut their doors and lay down in the cool:
Or if they went out, it was not to pay calls.
Nowadays—ill-bred, ignorant fellows,
When they feel the heat, make for a friend's house.
The unfortunate host, when he hears someone

coming,
Scowls and frowns, but can think of no escape.
"There's nothing for it but to rise and go to
the door,"

And in his comfortable chair he groans and sighs.
The conversation does not end quickly:
Prattling and babbling, what a lot he says!
Only when one is almost dead with fatigue
He asks at last "if one isn't finding him tiring."
(One's arm is almost in half with continual

fanning;
The sweat is pouring down one's neck in streams)
Do not say that this is a small matter:
I consider the practice a blot on our social life.
I therefore caution all wise men
That August visitors should not be admitted.

Chinese Art.

A very interesting article contributed to the *Asiatic Review* by Gerald Willoughby-Meade gives us a good deal of information about Chinese art. We read :

What are the Chinese laws of design, and how do the Chinese obey them? In the works of Hsieh Ho, as translated by Professor Herbert Giles, they are thus expressed :

1. Rhythmic vitality.
2. Anatomical structure.
3. Conformity with Nature.
4. Suitability of colouring.
5. Artistic composition.
6. Finish.

To make these more generally intelligible, Mr. Laurence Binyon has paraphrased them as below :

1. The spiritual rhythm expressed in the movement of life.
2. The art of rendering the bones or anatomical structure by means of the brush.
3. The drawing of forms which answer to natural forms.
4. Appropriate distribution of the colours.
5. Composition and subordination, or grouping according to the hierarchy of things.
6. The transmission of classic models.

A grotesque effect is much heightened by a superb colour contrast, and fine tinting will often redeem a design, in our eyes, from ugliness, and make it merely quaint.

Correct composition is evidently thought much of by the Chinese also. Their way of arranging the component parts of a design is sufficiently well marked to catch the most untrained eye. We can see that it is intentional, even when we disagree with it ; it may appear perverse, but it is clearly not due to clumsiness or carelessness.

In Chinese art "rhythmic vitality" will be found to be the supreme and universal criterion : the others are subsidiary, and may sometimes be disregarded.

A design, whatever its subject, must show a justness, an equilibrium, a balance of forces, as in a living thing. Our monster or demon, our fungus or rock, must embody an equation of oddities a congruity of form, of position, and of symbolic meaning, sufficient to endow it with personality, even possibility ; the artist's idea is thus made clear and communicated to the spectator. By this means the weird and the impossible are animated by an uncanny life of their own ; they are made to give—apart from skilful composition—the impression that they are the offspring of a living mental image.

Much Chinese work is, and should be, to us, "grotesque."

As examples let me mention the following :

We have the *K'uei*, a conventional dragon-form found on the bronzes of the Chou Period, this creature being supposed to exercise a restraining influence against the sin of greed.

Then there is the *t'ao t'ieh*, translated by Dr. Legge as "glutton," standing for an embodiment of, and warning against, the vices of sensuality and avarice.

A kind of primitive dragon without horns or scales, the *ch'ih lung*, is still frequently reproduced.

The *t'an* designated by the character for "avarice," is painted on the screen-wall in front of *Yamen*, no doubt as a warning to officials.

The phoenix called *feng* or *chu niao*, a modified pheasant, associated with warm sunshine and abundant harvests.

The unicorn, *ch'i-lin*, a quadruped difficult to connect with any known animal. It was believed to appear on excessively rare and very auspicious occasions, and to show absolute benevolence to all living things.

The white tiger, who presided over the western quarter of the heavens ; the tortoise entwined with a snake, the northern emblem ; the three-legged crow, imagined to dwell in the sun ; the poodle-like lion, a semi-Buddhist animal, guardian of the law and of sacred edifices ; the dragon-horse, and more especially the many varieties of true dragon, must be cited.

How deeply and widely the dragon tradition has influenced Chinese life is shown even in landscape-gardening. The zigzag bridge is supposed to typify the dragon ; trees and shrubs are trimmed into the shape of dragons ; ponds are laid out in reptilian shapes ; the trunks of dwarfed and warped trees are likened to dragons. Other grotesque effects, in door and wall, are largely animistic ; evil spirits are said to be baffled by unexpected screens and devious paths ; they are exorcised by suddenly coming upon the pious but threatening effigies of guardian genii.

Grotesqueness, here, is more than an artistic fashion ; it is almost a prayer.

The love of the marvellous, being universal, will be found among the Chinese to the same extent, at least, as elsewhere. In fact, one might expect it to be more pronounced. Beneath the grave, impassive demeanour inculcated by good manners, the Chinese undoubtedly conceals a very intense nature, a capacity for the most violent emotion, and an imagination teeming with the weirdest fancies. His language is rich in superlatives and in words expressive of emotion ; and if art is, after all, self-expression, must one not expect to find that a man possessed of a highly emphatic tongue will be inclined to overstate his impression when his brush is in his hand ?

The Taoists have been, in certain ways, the arch-priests of Chinese "grotesque" art.

As quietists and contemplatives, their influence showed itself in the ascetic sobriety of colour notable in the work of the great Sung masters. They believed that their sages, by retiring to the wilds and living on weird and unnatural food, could attain a certain physical immortality, like the gnarled trees and jagged peaks with which they foregathered. Hence they are portrayed as wrinkled and seamed like oakbark, and datelessly old, placidly gazing at the cloud or the waterfall, considering the grace of the flying stork, or the shimmering of the moon upon a mountain lake. The lonely traveller is said to have come upon them suddenly, in the fastnesses of the hills, rooted like ancient trees, or looming, ghostly, through the mists.

Buddhism completely overshadowed, if it did not displace—at any rate in the heyday of its glory—the "grotesque" element altogether.

The effect of Buddhism, on Chinese Art was twofold. In the beginning we find serene and dignified statues and lonesome landscapes, devoid altogether of anything grotesque ; later with the action and

reaction between Buddhism and the older beliefs, the goblin humour of the Chinese artist reasserted itself, finding a wider and richer field of fancy than before.

Most Chinese artists have as much opportunity as the Greeks had of studying the nude. The spare but well-knit coolie is in evidence everywhere, scantily clad, and getting the very most out of his muscles in the exercise of his daily toil. But if he ever was studied, as a problem, there is little evidence of it. The peasant, in a European picture, is always handsomer and better proportioned than the real toiler could possibly be; the Chinese boatman or tracker, on the other hand, is often a striking figure, climbing cliffs like a cat, or steering—tense with vigilance and muscular strain—through a dangerous rapid. But where do we find his picture?

The commonest theory is that Chinese artists find the human form too symmetrical to be interesting.

Another theory would attribute to Buddhist influence the treatment of the human form as being neither more nor less important than any other phase or semblance of being.

With a choice of subjects ranging from gods and demons to stones and grasses, we also find that the human form, as a subject of art, was deliberately classed below landscape in the writings of Chinese critics of rank.

A human form, therefore, when used for the purpose of expressing an idea, was compelled to assume a shape or attitude associated by long usage with that idea, and the result, in our eyes, is "grotesque."

Whatever may be the true explanation of this belittling of the human and glorification of the non-human element in Chinese art, there is reason to think that, like other sources of the grotesque, it is a racial peculiarity.

Certain of the greatest Chinese artists, have not left a single picture of a human being; the work of others is represented only by quaint and whimsical studies of aged men or monsters.

The idea that such men could not have drawn or carved fine human forms is, of course, preposterous. The early Buddhist religious works are proofs of their power. The birds, fishes, and flowers of the best schools are as real as they are dignified; the men who drew them could have drawn anything they had a mind to.

Even in the relics of Han art left to us we have truly naturalistic horses and birds; but the human figures are often deliberately distorted, though whether for mythological or merely decorative reasons is not quite clear to the writer.

In two words, Western art lends itself to the "literal" and Far Eastern art to the "literary": and if the thing drawn by the Chinese artist does not express his idea without alteration, he simply alters it until it does. Thus, for good or ill, his treatment tends, of necessity, towards the "grotesque" in many instances.

Daring and correct, however, as the great Chinese art-workers have been in the use of colour, powerful as they have been in composition, the one outstanding feature of all their work has been this—facility in the treatment of line. Freedom, even license, in the use of line may not always please the eye, especially of a European; but it is not the failing of a tyro: it is the whim of a master. To say the least of it, no man

who does not know his tools well will dare to juggle with them.

The grotesque, then, holds a considerable place in Chinese art. For the reasons given, I submit that it holds that place rightly; it expresses a national peculiarity; it meets a national need; it shows itself as the outcome of a national gift. It evidences skill, perseverance, and humour; it evidences a cheerful recognition of the shadows of life, as well as of its high lights; it provides a foil to the drab poverty and cast-iron etiquette of everyday existence; it preserves from oblivion numberless traditions valuable to the student and the historian.

Morality and Convention.

Writing in the *Hibbert Journal* H. L. Stewart offers a defence of what is known by the term "convention." Says he:

Those who speak with scorn of conventional morality seem to have before their minds a sort of unnatural perversion, a system which did not grow but was rather manufactured, a code either imposed by senseless authority from without or invented with more or less sinister purpose from within. They think of it as, at the best, unreflective prejudice; at the worst, a deliberate pretense under which one part of society makes pariahs of another part. The blame for this imposture is placed upon some order which the critic specially dislikes—the clergy, the aristocrats, the capitalists. Just now an intellectual circle of unique refinement specializes in derision of the middle class, to whose moral notions the epithet "smug" is applied with great success.

Nine-tenths of the theoretical attacks upon Convention turn upon an ambiguity in the word. They are attacks upon a phantasm, and if imposture has been at work at all it has appeared mainly in the skill with which our critics first falsify the pedigree of common morals and then hold up the poor progeny to contempt. "Convention" means agreement, and hence ought to imply freedom of choice. It even suggests an element of caprice; for the more capricious a choice has been, the more appropriate do we regard the epithet "conventional" as applied to the arrangement which has been its outcome. Thus we speak of the conventional procedure of law, but not of the conventional processes of digestion, for the latter are imposed by necessity, while the former—though they are at least believed to have a basis in reason—might within very wide limits have been varied by human preference. Most fitting of all is the use of the word when we have before us such a scheme as the alphabet or a scientific nomenclature; for although even these are not wholly arbitrary, they come as close as we can get to a sheer creation of will, a product whose value consists in its general acceptance, and which, if it had been otherwise constructed, would have been equally serviceable provided it were adopted with equal unanimity.

"Most of our ideas about right and wrong are conventional," say the novelists. On the contrary, it is very hard indeed to find any of those ideas to which we can accurately apply such an epithet. They are for the most part the workings of unconscious reason. The modern Communist, I suppose, will stigmatize as

conventional most of our received notions about property. But he will have to confess that from the beginning of time every man has been granted a right to the exclusive possession of some things, and that, while no primitive conference of the species settled which these were to be, their progressive assignment and delimitation have followed lines which may have been wrong but which at least were not arbitrary. They were laid down under the pressure of social needs and feelings. I for one am ready to admit that they were often laid down amiss, and that many of them are amiss still. But the fault did not lie in subservience to "Convention" and in omitting to appeal to "Nature." For in the same sense in which Nature authenticates, let us say, the right to life, she authenticates that order by which life in society may expand. Few will claim that each person as such has an indefeasible right to live. The hangman, although we may call him, in the abusive sense, a conventional institution, is in a truer sense a genuinely natural one. He is an official who, not through wanton cruelty, still less from stupid caprice, but for purposes that are deemed socially urgent, has been appointed and is maintained. Whether we should keep him depends on what we think of these purposes, and of his effectiveness for carrying them out. The gradually formed sentiment on such things which, we are told, it is essential to shake, is thus no mere adhesion to prejudice. It is crystallized experience. If it could be so shaken as to have its whole basis destroyed—and unfortunately it cannot,—the new structure would be built upon the same sort of principles, for mankind has no other.

But the writer does not deny the educative value of dramas and imaginative literature in general which "seek to establish a sort of moral equality," as will be apparent from the following lines:

The successful drama at present is one that presents human character as much more uniform than our ancestors supposed. It seeks to establish a sort of moral equality even if it must level down rather than levelling up, and the democratic sentiment is at once conciliated. We like to feel that if the secrets of all hearts were disclosed, accuser, accused, judge and jurymen would not be so very different; that, in short, as the old lines have it,

There is so much good in the worst of us,

And so much bad in the best of us,

That it ill becomes any one of us

To look down on the rest of us.

Now, I am far from minimizing the educative value which belongs to these artistic presentations when they are skilfully and earnestly executed. Much genuine concern is abroad about social injustices and how to remedy them. And the authors of imaginative literature especially since *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, have held a sort of prescriptive right to operate thus upon the conscience of the public. It is probable that in no other way could the poignancy of a situation be brought home with such general effectiveness.

Uses of Wood-Pulp and Paper.

With the progress of time wood-pulp and paper are being requisitioned in an ever-increasing degree to manufacture

many of the necessities of civilisation. The *Canadian Forestry Journal* makes mention of a host of such articles. We read:

Paper is largely used by anatomical mechanists to make artificial limbs; by telescope makers, by boot and shoe makers, by cap manufacturers, for the foundation of caps and hats, forming all the peaks and many of the tops which look like leather; by China and porcelain manufacturers; by doll makers and by ship builders; and again, in making optical instruments, in pictures and looking-glasses, in portmanteaus, in Sheffield goods and tea pots. One manufacturer has made panels for doors from paper, and, he looks forward to making carriages of paper when the duty shall have been taken off. Paper pipes are actually made prepared with bitumen and capable of standing pressure of 300 pounds of water to the inch. Pulp and paper have furnished a rich field for exploitation, and in altogether new spheres of usefulness have arrived at a stage which may be said to guarantee their permanent serviceability. Now-a-days, the public are familiar with artificial silk, coarse cloth, and fabrics closely resembling mercerised cotton produced from wood-pulp fibres, and it is stating nothing new to say that ties and waist coats are being made from pulp and paper. As a matter of fact, both paper and pulp can now be formed into solid substances capable of competing with wood or iron in point of durability and elasticity; and for some years past, treated by special methods, they have been converted into such articles as paper bottles, figures, ornaments, furniture, etc. Water-proof coverings for walls and ceilings, parchment slates, flanges and manhole rings, paper wheels, roofing and boats, paper barrels, gas pipes, boxes and horse shoes are also no longer novelties. Probably one of the most valuable by-products of the manufacture of sulphite pulp is that of spirit from the waste, and particularly in Sweden, the distillation of alcohol from cellulose, bids fair to become an industry of considerable importance.

In the United States a heavy paper board for use in building operations is also made from waste sugar-cane and corn stalks. In a small mill at Koyasa, Kanagawa (Japan), water-proof paper is now manufactured for shirt-making.

Paper string and twine has within recent years come to be recognised as a valuable substitute for the ordinary variety. Paper string is now being made of such stoutness that it is suitable for tying up parcels of quite a fair size, and its manufacture is now being carried out in this country. Twine has been produced from paper in Germany for some years; the cord is spun from strips of brown or white creped thin cellulose paper and the few mills making it are said to be unable to meet the demand.

Making artificial flowers from paper is not a new idea but it is probably not so well known that they are now being made of paper rendered non-inflammable by the moderate use of asbestos. The Japanese sunshade is, of course, quite a familiar object, but the collapsible and storm-proof paper umbrella, devised for use in emergencies by an ingenious American, has not yet obtained wide favour.

Twisted or hardened paper is also being extensively employed at Sheboygan, United States of America, in the manufacture of paper furniture, and bags and trunks of compressed paper are perhaps

somewhat better known than the paper jackets for sausages, which have been introduced on the other side of the Atlantic. Vulcanised fibre, which is simply paper treated with zinc chloride, is also being extensively used in the manufacture of tool handles, bobbins, tubes, etc., and paper bladder twine, paper window shades, paper matting and paper floor coverings, the latter generally made with an admixture of cotton, are now widely used. Paper insulators are, of course, in comparatively common use, but it must be admitted that a paper chimney, of which we have heard, is something of a novelty. Paper cart-wheels and paper boats are, however, no longer curiosities, though it is stated that the paper boat is, indeed, a very substantial and serviceable craft.

It is now well known that Germany is using chemical pulp in place of cotton as a basis for the production of high explosives and a German military

surgeon goes so far as to say that not only cellulose wadding, but mechanical wood-pulp, wood flour, wood wool and wood felt have done good service as substitutes for cotton in making dressings, while another authority states that for wound secretions, filter and blotting paper serves the purpose admirably. Cellulose wadding is used in dozens of forms as a substitute for cotton, and its employment is stated to be even more advantageous when loosely woven cotton wicks are substituted for closely woven wicks, particularly in spirit and petroleum lamps. There have also been stories of paper boots and paper socks worn by soldiers of the European battle-fields and it is reported that paper beds, with paper sheets and pillow cases, are now being used in Germany by the poor, the mattresses being made of strong sheets of paper pasted together and filled with dry leaves of beech and oak trees.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

The Rector's Convocation Speech— A Rejoinder.

I am glad that my short article under the above heading in the April number of the *Modern Review* has led to some fruitful discussion on the comparative merits of the Indian and European systems of philosophy in the July number just to hand. Let me state at the outset that in suggesting that the study of Indian philosophy should be deferred till the understanding of the Indian student is matured and his critical faculty developed by the study of western philosophy, it was not my intention to assert dogmatically that to follow the opposite course advocated by his Excellency the Rector would be sure to prove mischievous; all that I said was that the change might quite possibly be a change for the worse, and I proceeded to give some reasons for my apprehension. Only by introducing a course of Indian philosophy in the undergraduate classes, and watching the actual result for a series of years, can the truth or otherwise of my position be tested, and I quite see the force of the arguments advanced by Mr. Basanta Kumar Chatterjee in favour of the early introduction of Indian philosophy in the curriculum of our colleges. In the last lines of Part I of his paper, however, Mr. Basanta Kumar Chatterjee gives his whole case away when he says that the students whom he would teach Indian philosophy should already have had some training in the western system and some knowledge of western science. That is exactly what I plead for.

Part II of Mr. Basanta Kumar Chatterjee's paper is specially devoted to my article. The orthodox Pundit may adhere to a particular system of philosophy and think the other systems to be defective, but I was not thinking of the exceptional, and of the learned few, but of the average Hindu. If, as Mr. Basanta Kumar Chatterjee admits, such Hindus recognise the direct working of the Divine Spirit in their philosophers, it seems that I was not far wrong when I said that we approach the study of philoso-

phical questions not with an open mind, but with a reverential awe which effectually stifles all freedom of thought. Mr. Basanta Kumar Chatterjee compares the Hindu attitude with the Christian regard for the Bible as divinely inspired. This is precisely what I meant when I said that we look upon Kapila and the other sages as canonised semi-divine saints. No one would be so foolish as to object to the Christian reading his Bible, as none would think of protesting against the Hindu reading the Vedas. But what I object to, and what western philosophers would object to, is to take up the study of philosophical questions in the uncritical spirit in which one studies his sacred scriptures. And one might also object to any books, believed to be revealed or semi-revealed, being prescribed for compulsory study by any section of students. My complaint was that 'philosophy which is the finest flower of universal human reason is too closely connected with religion in India to deserve the name in the full sense.' An Old Alumnus, criticising my article, says in the same issue of this magazine that "if human reason plays a dominant part in any department of human activities, it is in the domain of philosophy." I should substitute 'ought to play' for 'plays' in the above extract, and thus read, it is my own view, and I hold that in so far as Hindu philosophy leans on religion, which lives by faith and is guided by authority, it fails in its proper function *qua* philosophy, for to that extent it fails to afford adequate scope for the play of human reason. The same writer says that "for breadth, range and variety of thoughts embracing in its sweep the rankest materialism of Charvaka on the one side and the absolute idealism of Sankara on the other, no other single country's intellectual output, ancient or modern, can compare with that of India." I admitted in my article that 'no other philosophical system is so habitually free from conventional limitations on discussion as to the origin of the universe and its Creator. Pantheism, Monism Dualism, Atheism—all rival theories have fair field and no favour.' The little that I know of both the

indigenous and the Occidental systems of philosophy would not however permit me to endorse the unrestrained eulogy of An Old Alumnus. In the Indian systems, though the existence of God is freely disputed, the revelation of the Veda is always taken for granted, and the opprobrious epithet of *Nastik* is reserved not for the atheist or agnostic, but for the man who does not believe in the self-revelation and the infallibility of the Veda. There is an evident attempt, in some schools of philosophy, to pander to popular prejudice in thus placing the Veda above criticism. Moreover, the mythology of the Hindus, with all its absurdities, is cited and alluded to and drawn upon for illustrations, often without a word of adverse comment, in the philosophies; the multitudinous gods and goddesses, the unmeaning ritual and ceremonial practices, are taken at the valuation which is given to them by popular religion without any attempt at open dissent, though the logical outcome of the philosophical discussions may be antagonistic to a belief in them. The whole philosophy of the *Parva-Mimamsa* proceeds on the assumption that salvation lies in the Vedic sacrifices which are all but extinct now and for which no rational justification can be found. The European philosopher writes with a rich background of thoughts, feelings, ideas, brilliant, artistic, edifying, revealing a cultured imagination and a critical insight which constitute the essence of true education. Wise maxims, profound reflections, balanced judgments, eloquent dissertations on topics of general human interest, are interspersed in his writings. Sometimes there is even a wealth of local colouring, a poetic transfiguration of dry details. He not only deals with problems specially appertaining to his subject, but makes frequent excursions into adjacent realms and evokes our emotional sympathy with all the nobler aspects of human life and endeavour, as well as of art and nature, and in discussing cognate questions of other sciences, shows a breadth of knowledge which is alien to our philosophers. He plays, in short, upon all the subtler influences which mould life and form character, and dwells habitually in an atmosphere which is at once elevated and practical, i.e., not too detached from the realities of life. In all these ways he presents 'a breadth, range and variety of thoughts' which go to the making of a truly liberal culture. Hindu philosophy is not so many-sided, nor, apart from its specific problems in which it shows an intellectual depth and keenness of vision not certainly excelled in the West, is it so well able to draw out the best, from the point of view of civic culture and social morality, in the average man who has no intention to retire to the hills to meditate on his release. Absence of originality among our students of philosophy is not, as An Old Alumnus seems to think, due to the fact that they do not study in the *Tols*. The best orthodox products lack the varied outlook, the general culture and the historic sense which a study of western literature alone can give, and without such liberal culture original thinking is next to impossible—only commentaries are possible. It is because Vivekananda and Rabindranath have both been saturated with such modern culture, that they could throw new light on Hindu civilisation and culture, and make the world listen to them. Both of them have extolled the spirituality of India, but both have denounced the superstitions, torpor and the ritual-mongering which pass for spirituality in our midst. Vivekananda was a born fighter, and scoffed at nothing so much as at our popular religion of the kitchen, as he called it. Rabindranath has, in his

Achalayatan and numerous other pieces, exposed, in his own masterly way, our slavery to custom and intellectual stagnation. As for the *Navya Nyaya* system of Navadvip, extolled by An Old Alumnus and also by his Excellency the Rector, I have not been able to learn anything systematic of it for want of a suitable text book, but the little that I have read does not inspire me with the hope that it will emancipate the Bengali mind from its thralldom to dead forms and formulas—rather the contrary. I shall however be glad to know more on the subject, if An Old Alumnus or any other writer will kindly take upon himself the task of elucidating its main principles and expounding the services it has rendered to the cause of philosophy, in the pages of this Review.

I claim to have made a first-hand study, from the rationalistic standpoint, of almost all the Puranas, and I adhere most emphatically to my statement that there is everywhere in them a total confusion of what is ethically good and ethically bad. It would of course be absurd to say, as Mr. Basanta Kumar Chatterjee construes me as saying, that there is not one instance in the entire Pauranic literature where what is represented as good is really good. I never said so, and 'everywhere in the Puranas' cannot, as Mr. Basanta Kumar Chatterjee knows, mean 'invariably and without a single exception.' On the contrary, there are many beautiful stories, legends, and moral precepts in the Puranas, but considering their bulk and volume, these are far too few, and are altogether swept away by the mass of hocus-pocus and positive obscenity to be found in them. What is more significant than this, the total obliteration of moral values does not seem to strike the Pauranic writer as singular, or evoke his condemnation. He is just as much at home in enunciating a high philosophical doctrine as in, perhaps in the very next passage, making the most filthy observation on the female sex, or in describing the illicit amours of some god or hero. If the latter are to be treated as interpolations, then the Puranas would have to be transformed beyond recognition. Now, what is the reason of this indifference to moral values? And what is the reason why, in spite of the different schools of philosophy freely criticising one another, all the sages are in some vague sort of way conceived by the popular imagination to this day as being equally infallible, and as having an equally profound grasp of the truth? The reason I attribute to the pantheistic tradition which is the very atmosphere we breathe. The conception of the 'unifying' idealism of Asia,' of which An Old Alumnus speaks, and which first dawned on the poetic vision of that great Japanese mystic Okakura, who dreamt nobly of 'a single ancient Asiatic peace' which his countrymen are only too anxious to disavow, often means nothing better than the inability to see any distinction between the antinomies of life, between good and evil, theism and polytheism, between a life of action and a life of passive subjection, between reason and science on the one hand, and the practice of superstitious cults and adherence to unmeaning beliefs and customs on the other. This transition from one pole to the other, this bridging over the gulf which separates the two extremes, is effected by the convenient doctrine of *Adhikari-Bheda*, and the *Geeta* is called in to reconcile the different paths of faith, knowledge, and work. It is because at bottom we believe that all is one, that both good and bad proceed from the same source, that every form of belief and practice, however grotesque, is suited to some stage of the soul's growth, that we tolerate every nuisance and are

proud of our tolerance. This tolerance of Hinduism is according to well-known foreign writers, indistinguishable from indifference to truth, and makes our religion, according to other competent observers, a mass of contradictions. Our philosophers boldly challenge the existence of God, but lend the weight of their authority to current social prejudices, and visit deviations from the prescribed ritual with dire punishments. Control of passions is strongly advocated, but the breach of it among the sages, heroes and gods does not elicit any moral disapprobation. The 'unifying idealism' of Hinduism is maintained by its all-embracing universalism, which permits it to be at once subtle and gross, spiritual and sensual; it is accommodating and elastic, so that the boldest philosophical speculation goes hand in hand with polytheism of the crudest variety. Ceremonial purity, as enjoined by our Samhitas, is not personal cleanliness only, as Mr. Basanta Kumar Chatterjee thinks. We can see instances of such purity among the priestly class and widows; much of it is as unmeaning as the instinctive habits of the lower animals which were at one time useful but have in the course of evolution survived their utility, and some of it is positively injurious to health. The disregard of moral values and the tolerance of serious lapses from the standard of rectitude which may always be noticed in rural society, may legitimately be ascribed to the fundamental pantheistic conception, rooted in the mind, though not consciously thought out, that everything is, in the ultimate analysis, the sport of the Divine Mother, and so there is a justification for every shade of conduct. The non-moral character of much of our scriptural teaching has often been admired by Nietzsche and his school, as every reader of Nietzsche, Leo G. Sera, J. M. Kennedy and others, will admit. The ethical code of Gautama Buddha, and 'the superimposed moral precepts of the Christian cult' which An Old Alumnus seems to disapprove, do not find favour with the advocates of the cult of the Superman and the Will to Power; they prefer the all-embracing pantheism of Hindu philosophy which unifies all contradictions by finding a place for mutually antagonistic principles of conduct in its scheme of morals.

The distinction between striving for one's own salvation and that of his fellowmen, so far from being immaterial, as Mr. Basanta Kumar Chatterjee thinks, is fundamental of the two types of civilisation, Indian and European. When God wanted to give Pralhad his deliverance from the wheel of life, he replied: 'The sages, O Lord, lead a life of retirement, away from human habitations, actuated mostly by a desire for their own salvation, without thinking of the welfare of others. I, however, do not seek my own liberation, leaving other poor mortals to their fate; (Srimadbhagabata, Skanda 7, Chapter 9). On the other hand, Positivism and humanity are, according to G. L. Dickinson, 'the dominant forms of thought and feeling in the West.'

I maintain that the teaching of our philosophy is *not* virile and practical for the very reasons cited by An Old Alumnus to prove that it is so. As I have already said, it reduces all practical antagonisms into an all-embracing, and therefore ideal and fanciful, unity, and by making us tolerant of evil robs us of the energy and the incentive to combat it in the battlefields of life. The 'all-comprehensive' character of our philosophic culture, again, instead of issuing in right conduct, which is the true test of a practical teaching, makes it possible for the highest products of the university

that I see before me to talk of the inexorable law of Karma and at the same time worship Saturn, Satya Pir, or the Snake god in the firm belief that they will preserve their families from harm. Even a foreign observer like Sidney Low did not fail to observe that 'the educated Hindu sometimes reconciles the Higher Thought with the Lower Act in a startling fashion.' Undoubtedly Hindu philosophy has a most elevating effect on noble minds who can rightly understand its principles, as I freely admitted in my last article. An Old Alumnus cites the authority of Vivekananda to prove that Hindu philosophy is virile and practical. The apostle of neo-Hinduism was a nationalist to the core. He wanted Hindus to be 'heroes in the strife,' to make the world ring with their achievements, to have confidence in themselves and in the uplifting power of their religion. Therefore he tried to show that Hindu religious philosophy does not necessarily tend to make men visionaries, and weak in action. It was a much-needed lesson that Vivekananda taught his countrymen. He took Hinduism at its very best, and illuminated its doctrines from the vast storehouse of his knowledge and experience, and infused in the minds of his audience (most of his writings are reduced from his speeches) the contagious enthusiasm of his magnetic personality. It is because Vivekananda knew well enough wherein lay the weakness of Hinduism as popularly interpreted and understood that he was at such pains to remove it, and this is what his admirers are apt to forget, remembering only the flattering eulogies which from patriotic motives, and to save the mind of the Hindu from sinking under the weight of its philosophic depression, he freely introduced in his lectures. It is admitted on all hands, both by foreigners and Indians who boast of the spirituality of India, that the spirit of Indian philosophy has deeply permeated the masses. Had the teaching of our religious philosophy been virile and practical, why should we be reduced to this sad plight today? Contrasting Buddhism and Hinduism, Sir T. W. Holderness in his little but informing book says that Buddhism has in the main marked the character of the people that have come under its influence for good, and declares that "the Indian caste system and the degraded position consigned in Hinduism to women.....are impossible in a Buddhist country." "Those who believe Karma," truly says Sir John Woodroffe, "must know that the present conditions are due to the collective Indian Karma and not to the ruling Power or anything else. For had that Karma been good, our Power would not have been here" (*Sakti and Shakti*). According to the same authority, few can be, and few should attempt to be Yogis; the path of Bhukti-Mukti (enjoyment-liberation) is the best path for by far the vast majority, and the Tantric doctrine of Shakti, which holds that man is a magazine of power, and not the doctrines of the orthodox philosophical systems, is needed to revivify us and 'give to the ignorant and to others whose activity is ill-directed the religious and metaphysical basis of which they now stand in need.' Karma takes away the incentive to action by being popularly understood to mean that in this life you will have to suffer the consequences of the deeds done in your past lives, but that by laying in a store of good acts you may ensure better consequences in future lives, though you may not be able to modify the present thereby. That is to say, however much you may strive, you cannot enjoy the fruits of your good acts here and now, but such enjoyment must

be deferred to future existences. This, I know, is a spurious doctrine, and the Shastras may be made to tell a different story, but this is the popular belief, and it has undoubtedly the effect I have indicated. It is in vain that the Bhagabata (Skanda 3, chap. 30) says that heaven and hell are to be found on this earth and have no separate existence, or the Markandeya Purana (Ch. 23) lays down that fatalism works in a vicious circle, for it inclines one to inaction, and this very inactivity prevents him from achieving the success which he could otherwise have attained. The Garuda Purana (Part I, ch. iii) emphatically declares that he who has enterprise, intelligence, courage and energy is feared even by the gods and hence man should always try to achieve success in spite of Destiny. But fatalism has so deeply tinged the Hindu mind that it has left its mark even on the physiognomy and the movements of the people, and one of the first impressions 'which soon possesses the traveller in India is that of the melancholy which hangs over both the land and its people' (Sir Frederick Treves). Alluding to the appalling wastage of human life in India from infant mortality and preventable diseases, Sir T. W. Holderness says that "the resigned pessimism and quiet melancholy which characterise the religious and the mental outlook of the people, and which seem to brood over the landscape and infect the atmosphere, are not without a physical basis." Undoubtedly we have cause for depression in the high death-rate which prevails in India, but one would be bold to say that our philosophies, by emphasising the miseries of life, have not helped to drive the iron into the soul, and it is a permissible question to ask whether it is desirable to introduce such pessimistic teachings into the plastic minds of our young men in the formative stage of their growth, naturally characterised by buoyancy and hope. For, these fatalistic and pessimistic ideas are so deeply rooted in the popular religious philosophy of the Hindus that they are difficult to eradicate from the minds even of those who pass for educated among us.

Mr. Basanta Kumar Chatterjee's criticism is quite fair and moderate in tone, except for one line where he compares my denunciation of Pauranic morals as 'almost like the peroration of the speech of a rabid Christian missionary.' I have myself fought many a good fight with the missionaries in the columns of our monthly magazines, and have therefore the right to put in a word for this much-abused class. There are of course missionaries and missionaries, and Mr. Basanta Kumar Chatterjee, if he has kept in touch with them, will have found a marked change in the tone and quality of their writings within the last decade or so. Missionaries are no longer impervious to the researches of Orientalists and Indologists, both European and Indian, and to the results of a comparative study of religions, and they now write with greater sympathy and deeper knowledge, and therefore their writings can no longer be overlooked or ignored, even though they contain observations which wound the self-love of the educated Hindu. Besides this, the educated and liberal-minded English missionary (the example of Mr. Andrews and others will show that this is not a contradiction in terms, as we often contemptuously imagine) comes of a race which has an inherited tradition of culture, sobriety and restraint, of balanced judgment and wide outlook which places him at an advantage in discussing systems of religion other than his own. Unless therefore he makes it a part of his profession to run down the Hindu religion, and can admire and

appreciate our alien civilisation, his views are worth listening to, and I am not ashamed to confess that missionaries of this type have succeeded in throwing new light on some aspects of Hindu culture which had escaped my unaided observation.

Mr. Basanta Kumar Chatterjee objects to my quoting foreign opinions, 'whether our philosophy is good or bad.' 'We ought to see it for ourselves,' says he. His attitude marks a healthy reaction against that form of intellectual dependence which is part of our general political subjection, by reason of which we are apt to look up to the ruling race for approval of everything we say or do. I shall only observe in passing that I have noticed this peculiar mental trait more often among the orthodox in spite of their boasted independence of judgment than among those whom Mr. Basanta Kumar Chatterjee calls 'progressives.' Indeed, this could not but be so, as the habit of mind which makes us subservient to Shastric authority and unwilling to examine foreign sources also makes us equally susceptible to the ruling authority. Nevertheless, seeing ourselves as others see us is almost as necessary as seeing for ourselves if we want to advance on right lines. What is required is that we must not surrender our right of judgment to anybody. Reason, not authority, whether Shastric or foreign, must be our guide. Cultured European travellers, highly-trained English administrators, European Orientalists, have all reflected on the effect of our philosophical systems on the Indian character, and particularly on the melancholy, lethargy, and feeling of resignation which characterise the Indian masses, without failing to recognise their vivid consciousness of the reality of the life beyond. It is the spectator who often sees most of the game. We, who live and move and have our being in the peculiar speculative atmosphere of India, and have little firsthand knowledge of the rest of the world, may not agree with these foreign writers, but this does not necessarily prove that they are wrong. We have indeed had enough of self-laudation and it would do us good to ponder why we occupy such a low place in the esteem of other nations, and whether there may not be anything in our social and religious and philosophical systems to which it is due, and which is susceptible of improvement. Self-confidence is absolutely essential for our national regeneration, but it should not degenerate into an obstinate refusal to profit by the example of others. It would seem that the words of that learned Sanskrit scholar, Alberuni, are as true now as when they were written in the eleventh century:

"We can only say, folly is an illness for which there is no medicine, and the Hindus believe that there is no country but theirs, no nation like theirs, no science like theirs. They are haughty, foolishly vain, self-conceited, and stolid.....According to their belief, there is no other country on earth but theirs, no other race of man but theirs, and no created beings besides them have any knowledge or science whatsoever. Their haughtiness is such that, if you tell them of any science or scholar in Khurasan or Persis, they will think you to be both an ignoramus and a liar. If they travelled and mixed with other nations, they would soon change their mind, for their ancestors were not as narrow-minded as the present generation is." (Dr. Sachau's translation).

An Old Alumnus reads the doom of the world in the unholy alliance of western science with militarism. Readers of this magazine will have noticed that the misapplication of science to base purposes is strongly denounced by western writers themselves. If

they have hitherto been unable to stem the tide, it is not because they failed to see the evil, as we so often do in the case of our own social diseases, but because no particular group of statesmen and no individual nation had complete control of the concatenation of circumstances which led to its abnormal growth. The shock of a world-war was necessary to revivify those moral and spiritual forces which have brought home to the western nations the need of remodelling the structure of their society, with its competitive industrialism, on a nobler basis. Already the ground was somewhat prepared by socialists, philosophical anarchists, and other schools of democratic thought. The difference between the West and India lies in this, that when an evil is recognised to be such, the virile West makes a vigorous effort to throw it off from the body-politic. Our political dependence is no doubt partly responsible for our inability to do so. But not only the ability, but even the honest desire, seems to be wanting among us. We prefer to lie supine in the presence of all the evils that afflict our social body, and console ourselves with the thought that all is vanity, that good and evil have both their place in this world, and that in the end, and in God's own good time, though it may be aeons hence, things will somehow right themselves, and all will be well. The Yuga doctrine has stamped the conviction deep in our minds that till the present cycle of decadence is over, it is idle to try to strive for a better future. An Old Alumnus may rest assured that the West will not allow its fair handiwork to go to pieces before their eyes without making a mighty effort at all-round reconstruction after the war is over. Already we hear of a League of Nations and other measures to banish war from this planet. If the West succeeds in keeping the demon of war off its gates even for a century, it will have performed a task never attempted in India before the advent of the British peace. The atmosphere of Europe was surcharged with electric currents, and the war was necessary to restore equilibrium and teach the European nations the moral dangers of excessive materialism. The West will know to look after itself, but what of us? There is sense in preaching to the West the dangers of excessive devotion to the material sciences, as Vivekananda and Rabindranath have done. But to preach to a nation of beggars in the same strain is either the very refinement of irony, or an egregious piece of foolish short-sightedness. We must live before we can speculate on the ultimate destiny of man. As Mr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar says with so much force and eloquence, when western scholars spoke of the pacifist and spiritualistic tendencies of the East, the mesmerised Hindu fancied that probably he was being eulogised, but the young India of today does not feel any pride in the position of utter helplessness assigned to him. It has become necessary to remind ourselves, with Sir John Woodroffe, that "it is absurd to talk as some do, as though India produced nothing but Sadhus, Yogis, Mahatmas, philosophers and the like. The life of India (I speak of the past) has displayed itself in all activities. It has meditated both as the man of religion and of philosophy, but it has also worked in every sphere of activity.....It is significant of the variety of India's life that the same land of ascetic austerity produced the Kama Shastra (erotic scriptures) and kindred literature and art."

An Old Alumnus in a grand *finale* to his excellent essay, with portions of which I am in complete agreement, looks forward to the advent of another

Avatar to teach us 'a new philosophy of life, based upon a broader interpretation of the ever-increasing facts that the progress of science is every-day bringing to light' and for this mighty consummation he lays down, as an essential precondition, a far more general diffusion of the hidden riches of Indian philosophy through deep diving into the perennial spring itself. 'Deep diving' into original sources is certainly necessary for the scholar, but a broader interpretation of scientific facts is possible to those only who have delved equally deep into western science and scientific methods. The new Indian genius who will outshine Bergson must therefore have an adequate intellectual equipment, and the sum and substance of my humble plea was to provide the Indian student with the elements of such a broad modern culture before he plunges into the depths of Indian philosophy.

A word on Indian spirituality of which An old Alumnus makes so much. Since writing my last article I have come across a book named "Appearances" by G. Lowes Dickinson, whom Sir John Woodroffe calls 'an English writer of great insight.' In this book Mr. Dickinson criticises American civilisation in a way which would delight the heart of an Old Alumnus. Nevertheless, he frequently contrasts the West (in which term he includes China and Japan, as their outlook on life is the same as that of Europe) with India, and his comparisons, based on personal experience of religious life in India, are instructive. The West stands for the energy of the world, for all, in this vast nature, that is determinate and purposive, not passively repetitious. The religion of India refused all significance to the temporal world, took no account of society and its needs; it sought to destroy, not to develop, the sense and the power of individuality. It may or may not be the religion of a wise race, but it could never be that of a strong one. Melancholy, monotony, austerity; a sense of perennial frost, spite of the light and heat; a purgatory of souls doing penance till the hour of deliverance shall strike [this, I may add, is practically the sense in which India is described in all the Puranas as the *Karmabhumi par excellence*], unearthly, overearthly—this is the kind of impression left on Mr. Dickinson's mind by India; whereas in China, he found good temper, industry, intelligence, and nothing was abnormal or overstrained. The Indian does not believe in the process of time and experience, to him the world is phenomenal and unreal. Life is an evil—that is the root feeling in India. This spiritual attitude is probably an effect, rather than a cause, of an enfeebled grip on life. If conduct is to have any meaning, good and evil must be real in a real world. If they are held to be appearances, conduct becomes absurd. To regard evil as the sport of God is incompatible with the western view of religion, of which the irreducible minimum, according to the writer, is:—"I believe in the ultimate distinction between good and evil, and in a real progress in a real time. I believe it to be my duty to increase good and diminish evil; I believe that in doing this I am serving the purpose of the world." In summing up the views of Mr. Dickinson, I do not intend that they should be accepted as wholly true, but certainly they deserve to be studied as an instance of how a western thinker, who is fully conscious of the defects of his own civilisation, would regard our claim to be considered a spiritual nation. For myself, I feel convinced as a result of my study of Indian authorities, that of real spiri-

tuality there has been no marked preponderance in India since historic times (the birth of Christ for instance), and that, had we really been as spiritually-minded as we claim to be, had even the *elite* of the people in India been just, true, and honest, in their social, political, moral and intellectual relations, we should not have come to our present sad pass. We must not overlook the fact that the strong alone can afford to be just. My reading of Indian social history teaches me, on the other hand, that from the days of the Vedas and the Brahmanas, down to the days of the Puranas, and much more so in later times, we have hankered for material joys and blessings as much as any other nation, these scriptures being full of prayers and invocations for success in the material sense. The Buddhist Jataka stories give us glimpses of a world in which religion and materialism were as intimately blended as in the Puranas. Our dramas, according to H. H. Wilson, reveal a society as refined, as corrupt, and as luxurious as any the West can show. The Mahabharata tells the tale of a race of people in whom the blood tingled in every vein with the joy of life and who placed success in this world before every other consideration. Sanskrit literature, both sacred and secular, is full of vivid delineations of the evils of poverty and the advantages of possessing wealth. It is only in parts of the Upanishads, the different schools of philosophy, and more explicitly in the Bhagavadgita that *Nishkama* as opposed to *Kama* Karma—selfless as opposed to selfish action—was held up as the ideal of life. But even in the domain of philosophy, we have the Barhaspatya (Charvaka) doctrine which, according to Madhavacharya, is the only doctrine which the majority of living beings hold by; we have the Purusha-Prakriti doctrine of the Samkhya philosophy and the doctrine of the union of the individual soul with the Supreme Soul of the Vedanta, both of which, being interpreted in a grossly material sense, has furnished a pseudo-philosophic justification for the sexual licenses of various religious sects, thus showing that human nature in India, in spite of her austere philosophies, is just as materially inclined as the rest of the world; and lastly, we have, in the early middle ages, the Rasesvara Darsana where the virtues of mercury and mica in rejuvenating the body are extolled, and a healthy body is, rightly enough, set up as the pre-requisite of philosophic studies and practices, and attention is thus mainly confined to the gross material tabernacle of the soul. I have already mentioned the erotic scriptures and sculptures. We preach abnegation and renunciation, but for centuries we have been fighting amongst ourselves tooth and nail for our daily dwindling material possessions. We cannot sacrifice ourselves for great ideas, nor achieve success on a scale conceived in the West, though our scriptures proclaim the grand truth, 'भूमव दुष्टं, नास्ते सुखमस्ति'—there is joy only in doing or suffering on a large scale. Immersed habitually in petty cares and narrow selfish desires, the materialism which prevails among us is infinitely more ugly and sad than that which we denounce in Europe. It was Srikrishna who urged Arjuna to fight and kill from a sense of duty, and it was Jesus Christ who would turn the left cheek to those who smote us on the right. If Christianity is nevertheless muscular and aggressive and Hinduism is tolerant and resigned yet exclusive, it is not due to an excess of spirituality in the teachings of our master minds, but to our physical environments and

racial temperament. It is this temperament, this attitude towards the realities of existence, which has got to be reshaped, and co-ordinated with and adjusted to our needs, in view of the growing complexity of the problem of national existence and progress, and my appeal is, therefore, for a sane, sober, and pragmatic outlook on life, which, suffused as much as you like by poetry, emotion, grandeur and nobility of sentiment, may yet retain its hold on reality and thus furnish us with a coign of vantage from which to fight for our place in the sun in the strenuous competition of the modern world.

JULY 3, 1918

A HINDU MASTER OF ARTS.

P. S.—Since the above was written the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms has been published. In para 132 of this document, the 'two dominating conditions' in India are thus described:—"One is that the immense masses of the people are poor, ignorant and helpless far beyond the standards of Europe; and the other is that there runs through Indian society a series of cleavages—of religion, race, and caste—which constantly threaten its solidarity, and of which any wise political scheme must take serious heed." Those who boast of the 'unifying idealism' of India, may find it profitable to consider if there is any connection between the first of these conditions and our idealism which has fostered the paradox that man is socially bound but spiritually free, this utter divorce of life from thought constituting, in the opinion of Mr. P. Choudhuri (vide his article in the *Manchester Guardian*) and all serious thinkers, the tragedy of Indian history. As for the 'unifying' character of our idealism, the second of the above conditions forms a sad practical commentary on the speculative quest for unity in diversity in which our sages were engaged in their forest retreats. If we want to release India from the grip of the two dominating conditions noticed in the Report, we must, in the words of Mr. Choudhuri, modernise the ancient thought and apply the doctrines of man's spiritual freedom to his social life. For such a practical application of speculative doctrines to social life we shall be all the better equipped if we turn to the pragmatic philosophy—including in that term the social sciences—of the West, even if we reject its materialism and hold, as the writer himself does, that at its best, and in the realms of pure thought, our own philosophy need not go elsewhere for inspiration.

On The Study Of Indian Philosophy In Indian Universities.

I have watched with interest the controversy in the pages of your valuable journal on the above subject. It seems to me that nearly all that may be said in favour of Lord Ronaldshay's speech has been brought out in the two notes published on the subject in your July number. It would be profitable, however, to make one or two more points. They both rise out of the Editorial comments in your April number. "Do British students learn philosophy to begin with, as *English* philosophy or *Anglican* philosophy, or *Christian* philosophy? Do the modern Greeks study mainly the philosophy of Thales, Pythagoras etc., neglecting modern philosophy?" Questions like this reveal an ignorance of what is considered to be the proper study of philosophy at least in England. It is true that the English student does not learn English philosophy to begin with, but he certainly begins with Greek philosophy, in

any respectable university. And nothing can be more proper since the greatest part of European civilisation is built up out of Greek culture. If we should appeal to the example of English universities for the study of English or European philosophy in preference to our own, we would have to admit that our civilisation has no basis of its own and that it has to seek a basis in European culture. Surely, this lies farthest from the intentions of the Editor at the time he penned these remarks. The principle observed in the procedure of Western universities is that in order to understand any subject properly one ought to go as far as possible to the root of the whole affair, as otherwise the context of everything that follows will be lost and the result will be only an inadequate comprehension. In these days of "practicality" even enlightened universities make little provision for such study. But a proper study of philosophy is still practicable at the premier English university—Oxford. I may add here that at least in that university an Indian student of philosophy who says he knows nothing of Indian philosophy in some form or other is not held in much esteem.

The editorial remarks complained of seem further to assume that the business of education is somehow to make the students assimilate the truth in a jejune form. This I fear has been the curse of the educational system in India. The aim of education or at least that much of it which one gets in a university, is not to teach the truth but only the way of looking for truth. In other words, the object of education is to inform us about methods, not results. If truth could be grasped by any process of university education alone it would not be worth having. The Indian student has had always the idea presented to him that within a certain time he must acquire a certain amount of information, i.e., he must be able to reproduce that mass of information whenever called on to do so. In my opinion it makes little difference in the interests of true knowledge that the occasion when the reproduction takes place is not academic but some need of practical life. The informing ideal of a university should be knowledge for knowledge's sake. So long as this is the ideal there can be no indecent hurry to amass knowledge to find a short cut to truth. It is the observance or the falling away from this ideal that distinguishes the true from the merely commercial universities. He that runs can read the application to our universities. What is essential, then, is that our students should acquire as systematic a knowledge as possible of the methods of philosophical research, and not merely get to know and acknowledge the system of philosophy in fashion. And if all this talk in other fields about what is and what is not suited to our national genius is not a farce, it follows that the best means of acquiring the philosophical knowledge required is the study of our own systems of philosophy, however antiquated they may be. It has been asserted by some (I believe with a good deal of reason) that the Oriental and the Occidental methods of research are essentially different. If this is the case, surely it would be only proper that the Indian student should learn the Indian in preference to the European system.

The analogy attempted between Indian Philosophy and Indian Chemistry fails. The real reason for the neglect of Indian Chemistry lies in the science not having found translators and exponents of the eminence of Prof. MaxMuller and his like. This is a regrettable fact; still more regrettable is it that our

own sciences are neglected in the absence of foreign admirers. Most regrettable of all is the absence of sufficient inducement or scope for the study of Sanskrit in the present state of our university organisation; and indeed this is the only proper reply to His Lordship—that while we are profoundly thankful to him for his advice we cannot but regret our inability to adopt it, the present position of Indian languages being what it is in our educational system. We never lack good advice, but it is up to His Lordship to find means for the effective adoption of his advice.

S. S. SURYANARAYANAN,
Principal, Madura College.

Editorial Note. I have not been able to understand why the Principal of Madura College has treated me to this long lecture. In the April number my object mainly was to indicate what in my opinion *beginners* in philosophy ought to study. I never said that Indian philosophy ought not to be studied by Indian students; on the contrary, I wrote: "it would be best, as now, to make Hindu philosophy a subject of post-graduate study, for students whose critical faculty has somewhat matured..... For the B. A. degree, a student studying for honours in philosophy, may be allowed to include in his Sanskrit course a philosophical text in the original."

The Principal admits that "the English student does not learn English philosophy to begin with;" and that was my point. I wanted to say that one ought not to be guided by mere patriotism in the choice of methods or materials of study,—so far, at least, as beginners are concerned. I asked whether the *Modern Greeks* study mainly the philosophy of Thales, Pythagoras, etc., and the answer I obtain is that the *English* student certainly *begins* with Greek philosophy;—and I must take this to be a very relevant answer!

The Principal observes: "The editorial remarks complained of seem further to assume that the business of education is somehow to make the students assimilate the truth in a jejune form." I wonder where he has discovered this assumption on my part. The whole trend of my remarks was exactly the opposite. In fact in the second paragraph of my remarks, p. 470, I said that the business of universities was "to promote the search of truth."

The Principal's "real reason for the neglect of Indian chemistry" in India, is not the true reason. But it would not be relevant to dwell on the subject here.

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE,
Editor, *The Modern Review*.

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee and Calcutta University Reform.

I.

I beg to apologise for a grave mistake in my article on Calcutta University Reform in the July number, p. 17, column 1, paragraph 1, where it is asserted that the Hon. Dr. Ashutosh Mukhopadhyaya opposed the proposal to allow the teachers of the affiliated colleges to elect a certain proportion of the Fellows. The real fact is that the Hon'ble Doctor, on 18 March 1904, moved an amendment proposing that ten of the Fellows should be elected by the registered Heads of or Professors in institutions affiliated to the University and University Professors and Lecturers.

All teachers serving the University directly, whether called professors or lecturers, were, according to him, to have the franchise; but in the case of the affiliated colleges it was to be restricted to such teachers as were dignified with the title of *professors*, ("lecturers" being excluded here).

K. V. A.

II.

[After the receipt of the communication from K. V. A. printed above, we received the contribution printed below.—Ed., M. R.]

An article entitled "Calcutta University Reform" was published in the last number of the *Modern Review* under your editorship. In that article statements have been allowed to appear which are manifestly untrue. Statements are made with an air of firsthand knowledge, but they really portray absolutely the opposite of truth. An assertion is made that Sir Asutosh Mookerjee opposed in 1904 the proposal of extending the franchise to College Professors of electing representatives to the Senate of the Calcutta University. The writer of the article makes people believe that he has got the information from the Proceedings of the Governor-General's Council, but as a matter of fact it was Sir Asutosh Mookerjee himself who proposed that "ten members of the Senate be elected by registered Heads of, or Professors in, Institutions affiliated to the University and University Professors and Lecturers."

I give below some extracts from his speech when the amendment was before the Council:

(Pp. 151-53) "I do not desire to conceal my deep regret that the Bill, as amended, makes no provision for election by the constituency which I have named—a constituency which, in my opinion, has the first and foremost claim on the University. If it be the object of the Bill to secure for the Universities an academic Senate and also to secure the closest possible co-operation between University and College authorities, I think that it is essential that the right of representation on the Senate should be conferred by statute upon those who carry on the educational work of the Colleges affiliated to University, and I regret to have to say that the omission to provide for such representation does, in my judgment, appear to be a grave defect in the Bill.....it seems clear to me that an election by the Faculties can in no sense and in no manner replace an election by teachers. As to the body of Graduates who will form our electorate, members of the teaching profession are in a hopeless minority..... I venture to point out that we may well have an election by College Professors who, whatever their individual aims and interest may be, are united by one common tie, namely, that they have all devoted themselves to the carrying out of that educational work which it is the object of this Bill to promote. I further desire to point out that although teachers may be, and will be, nominated by the Chancellor, such nomination can hardly replace an election by teachers themselves. Indeed it would not be difficult to point out instances in which teachers of distinction, European and Indian, in Government service or in private employ, have not been put on the Senate for many long years; and the reason is not far to seek; such must be the inevitable consequence so long as we have teachers of eminence who are either unable or unwilling to press their claims upon the Government, so that appointment to the Senate may not be unduly delayed or indefinitely postponed. If the right of election is conferred upon teachers, these are precisely the men whose claims

are likely to be recognised by the electorate.....My Lord, is there any doubt that the body of teachers we now possess or are likely to possess in future, whatever their shortcomings may be, may safely be entrusted with the privilege of election? If there is any reasonable foundation for such doubt, I am afraid, My Lord, we are in a very bad way and no amount of legislation will be of any practical benefit. So far as I am concerned I affirm without the slightest hesitation that the College teachers we have at the present moment may be implicitly entrusted with the privilege of election.....But the cardinal point of my scheme is not merely that there should be an election by registered College Professors, but that such an election should be made from amongst their own body.....I do not entertain the slightest apprehension that an electorate like this, composed of Professors who are mostly Graduates of Indian or European Universities and who represent the interest of all the Colleges in the country will in any way abuse the privilege conferred upon them."

(Pp. 161-63) "Five of my Hon'ble colleagues have addressed the Council on my motion. Every one of them has belonged to the profession of teaching at some period of his life and so it is a source of unfeigned regret to me that four of them should have opposed my motion..... I venture to point out that the real question is not whether the principle of election can be extended to this length or that length, but whether the constituency for whom I am pleading is qualified. Are our teachers throughout the country qualified to be trusted with the principle of election? If they are not, let us say so in unmistakable terms; and I add without hesitation that if that be our decision and if our teachers really deserve this want of confidence, the sooner we throw this Bill into the wastepaper basket the better for every one concerned..... I adhere to the opinion that the practical objections which have been raised against my scheme are really of no weight and that the time has come when this experiment ought to be begun; and I add without any hesitation that if the present Government do not make this experiment, the time will come when some future Viceroy, such as Lord Lansdowne, will do so, and that the credit will belong to some future Viceroy of putting this measure upon the Statute-book."

(Imperial Legislative Council Proceedings, Vol. XLIII, 1904.)

I request the favour of your giving this letter as much publicity as the original article, and, as I have no desire to shelter myself in anonymity, I subscribe my name as

SATISCHANDRA BASU.
PROFESSOR, VIDYASAGAR COLLEGE.

Administration of Civil Justice—A Vindication.

"Philosophy would wish to teach us that *nil admirari* is the highest wisdom. Yet in ancient times the power of admiring was the greatest blessing bestowed on mankind"—of these pregnant words of the late professor Max Muller's one is forcibly reminded on a perusal of certain remarks offered by a writer assuming the Pseudonym of 'Justice' in the last June number of the *Modern Review* in the course of an article entitled "Administration of Justice in the Presidency of Bengal." The remarks referred to occur under the sub-head 'Civil Justice' of the said article in which the whole body of Provincial Judi-

cial Service officers have come in for a goodly share of blows and bruises from "Justice's" judicial rod. The more serious of the charges levelled against the officers known as Munsifs are these:—(1) That "some officers are so deficient in English that they cannot properly record the deposition of witnesses in that language and the result is that they leave out things which they cannot translate into English or write one thing for another. Some officers are found unable to write in English a proper judgment. (2) That owing to their being posted to places other than their own districts "not only are they (the munsifs) ignorant of the men appearing before them as suitors or witnesses but are also necessarily to some extent ignorant of their manners and customs and of local conditions." (3) That "some officers show very lamentable ignorance of common principles of law and incapacity to understand easy facts." (4) That "many officers are ever anxious simply to hurry on in order to win credit by turning out the largest number of disposals within the shortest time and are unwilling to try cases with reasonable care and patience." And (5) that the net result is that "litigation sometimes becomes a sort of gambling pure and simple. Good cases are lost, and bad cases or false ones won."

Now, though I hold no brief for the large body of officers in question who can certainly afford to pass over with silent contempt these puerile accusations and will doubtless survive these irritating pin-pricks, in common fairness which is due to all, be they official or non-official, I feel called upon to add a word or two under each of the heads of charge in order to enable the unprejudiced reader to judge for himself whether our 'Justice's' pronouncement can be considered as characterised by soundness and maturity of views and justice to the parties concerned, or, on the contrary, it betrays the same lack of reasonable care and patience, the same anxiety to hurry on, the same ignorance of the real conditions which in others he has anathematized with a pious indignation worthy of the Roman Pontiff. I take up the accusations in the order in which they have been stated above.

(1) It is well known that the Provincial Judicial Service is manned by M.A., B.L.S. of the Calcutta University, the High Court with which the appointments practically rest, always insisting upon the recruits possessing the M.A. degree, besides the B.L., or at least upon their having secured high place in the B. L. examination. If therefore the *ex cathedra* assertions of Mr. Justice have to be accepted as gospel truths, one must be prepared for a wholesale condemnation not only of the Bengali graduates and their *Alma Mater* but also of the whole Bengali people as regards their mental and moral calibre and potentialities and therefore of their whole future as a race. And I doubt if there be any, with the honourable exception of Mr. Justice of course, who would have the hardihood of thus branding, tarring and feathering a noble institution like our university and a whole race of men with equanimity. Mr. Justice seems to have very conveniently forgotten that the thousand and one nameless little things of every-day life of the common people that have usually to be narrated in minutest detail in our Law Courts and have to be rendered into English off-hand as they are related, are far removed from the 'things of beauty' that easily lend themselves to graceful poetical expression. In fact, I should think it would be no exaggeration to say that these dry-as-dust details would very often tax to the utmost the capacity of

the best cultured Indian scholar, seated at leisure in the serene atmosphere of his study and equipped on the right and left with tomes of lexicons and dictionaries to aid him at a pinch, to be faithfully translated into a foreign tongue like English whose intricacies of idioms, spirit and shades of signification only very few among those who are not born Englishmen can master after a life-long application. If therefore the deposition and judgments recorded in English by Bengali Munsifs are not literary masterpieces or always faithful translations, the blame must not be laid at the door of these officers but of the natural human limitations and the system under which those officers have to work. I for one am an advocate of not only the evidence but also judgments being recorded in the vernacular, and that for more reasons than one which need not be entered into here.

(2) Are the manners and customs and local conditions of different districts of Bengal really so divergent as Mr. Justice would have us believe? The testimony of experience and common sense however points to the contrary conclusion. Then again, if Judicial officers of a district be recruited from within its own bounds, as advocated by Mr. Justice, knowing human nature what it is one may well apprehend that the prescribed remedy would prove worse than the supposed malady.

(3) To support the conclusion of Mr. Justice that some of these officers (who, by the way, are the best products of our university representing the cream of the Bengali people) after some years of theoretical study and practical training in law and procedure are ignorant of the rudiments of law and unable to grasp 'easy facts,' something more than mere dogmatic asseveration is required in order to carry any weight or conviction.

(4) & (5). Those who are acquainted with the working of the civil courts and the conditions under which the Judicial officers in this province have to work and therefore can judge with fairness and sympathy, would indignantly repudiate the insinuation that these officers deliberately and of their free will hurry on, simply to win the credit. For, who does not know that the persistent demand from above to hurry on and show the largest output hangs upon their devoted head like a veritable Damocles' Sword and that quantity and not quality is the test of efficiency? And yet the number of officers who strive not only to satisfy their earthly Providence, i.e., their official mentors but also their own conscience and the litigants are not as limited as Mr. Justice seems to think. It really does one's heart good to see these hard-tasked officers extort the unstinted encomiums from those who are not only competent to judge but not given to unmeasured praising or using words without careful weighing, such as high Executive officers in charge of departmental portfolios, Judges of the High Court and even the Anglo-Indian Press. The suggestion therefore that as a rule 'good cases are lost and bad or false ones won' calls for no serious consideration. I must not however be misunderstood. It is not my contention that these officers are one and all so many Daniels come to Judgment. What I contend is, not that the present administration of civil justice is free from all blemishes and needs no improvement or reform, but that its defects, speaking generally, are attributable to the system and the policy thereof rather than to the personnel of the provincial service. Let the Government change its 'angle of vision', let considerations of justice pure and simple and not those of public finances be the sole motive of those

who frame the machinery of judicial administration, let the dead-weight of constant fear of falling short of the inexorable test of *quantity* be removed and thereby allow a sense of self-respect and real responsibility of a judicial independence to grow up, and

lastly provide for the incentive to show better work by holding out better prospects, better emoluments and quicker promotion and there will much of the real existing evils disappear, but not till then.

FAIR PLAY.

NOTES

A State-Prisoner's Petition.

Early last month we received a copy of a petition submitted to His Excellency the Governor-General in Council by one Jogesh Chandra Chatterjee, a state-prisoner now in Rajshahi Central Jail. It contains allegations of incredible cruelties and revolting ill-treatment. One extract from it will suffice. The prisoner thus describes what happened on the fifth day after his arrest :—

"That on the 5th day at about 5 p. m. I was again taken to the office at Kyd Street. There the officer (of the first day) according to the proposal of an officer in European costume called and they four took me to the latrine. There one man took hold of my hands, another head, and the officer in European costume pressed my nostrils and the Methar put a commodious of urine mixed with stools and thrust and poured it all over my face. Then they kept me in my cell and did not allow me to have a wash. All these days I was not allowed to take my bath and got only 2 or 3 lachis for food and that, too, not every day."

We do not know whether this petition has reached the Viceroy's hands. If it has, the public should be informed what has been done with it. If it has not, it is to be hoped His Excellency will order it to be placed before him, and cause an *open* enquiry to be made.

Allegations of Torture.

We cannot understand why Lord Ronaldshay spoke so triumphantly of the results of the *secret* enquiry made by two Government nominees, one a Government servant and the other a former Government servant, into the allegations of torture of political suspects placed before the Viceroy by Mrs. Annie Besant. The police were the party accused of unlawful and cruel conduct. And yet the man who were alleged to have been tortured were kept in police custody in a sort of solitary imprisonment before being placed before the

two members of the Committee for examination. After their examination, too, they were taken to their place of compulsory domicile under police escort. It does not appear from Lord Ronaldshay's statement that both the members of the committee thoroughly inspected the alleged place of torture, nor that any of them did so without the police coming to know beforehand that the place was going to be visited. It is surprising that any statesman should expect the public to place implicit reliance on the results of a *secret* enquiry conducted in the manner in which the one under discussion was. Considering that so many detenus, ex-detenus and state-prisoners have admittedly become insane, committed suicide, or died of preventable disease, one would, on the contrary, expect the Governor of Bengal to suspect that detenus and state-prisoners were not treated as they ought to be.

Calcutta University Affairs.

A time there was when whatever Sir Asutosh Mukherji wanted to be done was done by the Senate and the Syndicate of the Calcutta University. That was not a desirable state of things. But it is equally undesirable that motions should be considered out of order for no other reason than we can see than that they were moved by Sir Asutosh. Such recently was the case with two of his motions. The present Vice-Chancellor is neither a greater lawyer nor a greater expert in University affairs, nor possessed of greater knowledge of how public meetings ought properly to be conducted, than Sir Asutosh. Why, again, were some educationists who were present at a recent Senate meeting with the knowledge and permission of the Registrar, told to leave the hall? They had acquired the right to be there on that occasion.

Jute Merchants and Cultivators.

At a recent meeting of the Bengal Legislative Council, the Hon'ble Babu Akhil Chandra Datta moved a resolution of which the object was to make the cultivators of jute sharers to some extent in the extraordinary good luck which has befallen the shareholders of jute mills. It is well known what enormous profits the latter have made. On the other hand, the cultivators of jute are worse off than before the war. The Bengal Government themselves say in a letter addressed to the Government of India :

"It is not accurate to say that the income of the cultivators in this province has risen since the war. On the contrary, they have been badly hit by the prevailing low prices of rice and jute, while confronted simultaneously with unusually high prices, noticeably for cloth, salt and kerosene oil."

Nevertheless Government could not accept Mr. Datta's resolution and do something for the cultivators of jute. Had the will existed to relieve their misery, the way could certainly have been found. One has only to consider what has been done in England. *The Review of Reviews* writes :—

"By the exercise of infinite patience and tact Mr. Prothero succeeded in carrying the Corn Production Act through a not too friendly House. By this Act minimum prices were fixed for wheat and oats for six years, a minimum wage guaranteed to agricultural workmen, and power given to the Board of Agriculture to enforce proper cultivation."

Why, then, was it beyond the power of the State in Bengal to devise some means to secure to the cultivators of jute a fair share of prosperity ?

The Internment Advisory Committee.

The following letter has been sent by the Additional Secretary, Government of Bengal, to the Superintendents of Jails :—

The Advisory Committee which is to examine the cases of all prisoners under restraint in Bengal is now sitting ; will you let the prisoners in your jail know that if they want to make a representation the committee will receive it if it complies with the following conditions :—

- (a) That it is in writing.
- (b) That it is from the S. P. (State prisoner himself and is signed by him).
- (c) That it is confined to the merits of the cases against him.
- (d) That it is submitted through the censoring authority.

Any representation outside this will be discarded as irrelevant.

Any representation sent should be regarded as confidential and care should be taken that they are not directly or indirectly sent to the Press.

The following letter has been addressed to the detenus by Superintendents of Police :—

The Advisory Committee which is now sitting and looking into your case amongst others are prepared to receive from you any representation you may wish to submit containing such additional facts bearing on the merits of your case which possibly you omitted from your previous statements. You must clearly understand that the Committee are only concerned with the main question whether there are reasonable grounds for believing that you have acted prejudicially to the safety of the state, and any representation you may have to make must be confined to this point. Representations regarding such matters as the treatment you are receiving while in detention or requests for transfer to a home domicile or release will not be considered : if you have any such grievances to bring to notice they should be addressed as usual to Government. On the other hand, if you have no such additional facts to represent which have not already been given in your previous statement, then to repeat them again now is clearly unnecessary. I would also make it clear to you that having more to say, the fact of your refraining from making a further representation now will in no way prejudice you.

The following are the conditions on which your representation will be received by the Advisory Committee :—

- (a) That it is in writing.
- (b) That it is from yourself and is signed by you.
- (c) That it is confined to the merits of the case against you.
- (d) That it is submitted through the usual censoring authority.

When you have quite done with this letter will you please return it to the Sub-Inspector of Police with your signature on it in token of your having seen it. If you do not know English or sufficient English to understand the purport of this letter, the Sub-Inspector of Police has been directed to translate it to you and you are requested to sign this letter in token of his having done so.

There is no objection to the representations passing through the hands of the censoring authority, as that will convince the Committee that it has really come from a detenu or a state prisoner ; but there is nothing to show that the censoring authority will be bound to forward the representation to the Committee and that that authority will not omit or hold back any portion of it. It may be undesirable from the official point of view that the representations should not find their way to the Press ; but from the point of view of a detenu or a state prisoner, the publication in the Press of only the fact of his having made a representation might have served a good purpose. It would have enabled the Committee to ascertain whether they have got all the representations or not. During the trial of the Kutubdia detenus it came out that the Superinten-

dent of Police did not forward to Government all the letters and telegrams of the detenus. What is there to prevent some Superintendents of Police and of Jails from following a similar course now?

We are not told that the charges against detenus and state prisoners have been communicated to them. In the absence of definite knowledge of the case against them, what effective representations can they make? The representation from each person is to be "confined to the merits of the case against him." This presupposes that he knows the case. But does he? Even if every man had been told after his arrest what the case against him was, he ought again to have the opportunity of refreshing his memory. As the detenus and state prisoners cannot have legal help, the least that they are entitled to claim is to appear in person before the committee, and tell the members all that they want to say. The members themselves may not be able to learn from the representations all that they require to know for the purpose of doing justice. They may want to ask questions in order to have additional information, and this they ought to be placed in a position to do.

Mrs. Fawcett's Ignorant Criticism.

Mrs. Fawcett has attacked the Indian National Congress and Home Rule Parties on the assumed ground that they are unsympathetic towards the political aspirations of Indian women. The real fact is that they are not at all unsympathetic. Women have always attended the Congress sessions as delegates, some have spoken there as delegates, a woman has presided over a session, another woman has presided over a provincial conference, and the Indian Home Rule League has hundreds of women members and active workers and has expressed itself in favour of women having the franchise on the same basis as men. The Indian Universities grant degrees to women, which is not the case with all British Universities.

But supposing all that Mrs. Fawcett has assumed were really true, that would not disqualify Indian men from having the franchise. After centuries of political freedom enjoyed by British men, British women got the vote only this year. British men had been during all these hundreds of years been opposed to women's political rights, but that did not make

them unfit for self-government. But it seems Indian men must be declared unfit for the least bit of political freedom unless they can at once prove that Indian women also are immediately to have with the men the rights which British men gave to British women after a millenium! This sort of criticism is neither well-informed nor honest.

A Cannibalistic Joke?

The following advertisement appeared in the *Statesman*, May 29, 1918, *Dak Edition*, D. B. :—

WANTED—The finely tanned skin of a German, Champaign shade, for making up into Ladies' Shoes; these skins are now obtainable in Paris and extensively used for the purpose above mentioned. Has anybody got one in Calcutta? Apply with price to Box 5082, Advt. Dept., "Statesman." CD67064.

Was it a joke? If so, it was not farther removed from cannibalism than is the flesh of a German from his skin.

Indo-British Association Lies.

On May 6 last, Mr. J. M. Parikh spoke on "Why India Wants Home Rule" at Caxton Hall, London. The following handbill of the Indo-British Association was circulated outside the Hall:

"WHY INDIA WANTS HOME RULE."

Only a small minority wants Home Rule, millions have protested against Home Rule and do not want it.

Write for the

TRUE FACTS AND VIEWS OF THE INDIAN MASSES TO

INDO-BRITISH ASSOCIATION.

6, BROAD STREET PLACE, E.C.2,

which has on record protests against Home Rule from every province in India.

INDIA DOES NOT WANT HOME RULE.

On this *India* observes :—

We always thought it was alleged that the "millions of India" were indifferent to politics. We challenge the Association to prove their claim that "millions have protested against Home Rule and do not want it." But what on earth are the Association doing in the City? Is this another commercial speculation paid for by "big business" in India, with a view to preserve the prescriptive rights of British commercial houses to exploit the raw materials of that country?

It is very unfair that the Sydenhamites should be allowed to carry on their sinister propaganda whilst Indians are prevented from visiting England to contradict their lies.

East Indian Railway—State versus Company Management.

Letter No. 188-F-16, dated Simla, the 4th-5th April, 1918, from the Secretary, Government of India, Railway Department (Railway Board) to the Secretary, Bengal Chamber of Commerce, runs as under :—

"I am directed to refer again to the question of State and Company management of Indian railways which was raised in the Railway Board's letter No. 188-F-16 of 27th June 1916. In your reply of 18th October 1916, your Chamber expressed their view as being strongly in favour of the continuance of the present system, namely management by a Company situate in London. The broad issue then placed before your Chamber was whether a system of State or Company management has the advantage under Indian conditions, and an endeavour was made in an enclosure to our letter to state the arguments on both sides. A third alternative has been suggested to the Government of India, namely, neither to retain the existing system intact nor to have recourse to State management, but to have an Indian Company with a Board of Directors in India. The proposed Board, it is suggested, would include, as the Home Boards do at present, a Government Director with a power of veto; for the rest of the Board there would be the commercial community, both European and Indian, in Calcutta and Cawnpore on which to draw. A doubt, however, has been suggested whether under Indian conditions and particularly in view of the fluctuations in the personnel of the commercial community, a strong enough Board could be constituted in India in the event of the control of the East Indian Railway being transferred to an Indian Company. I am to enquire the opinion of your Chamber on the question whether it would be possible, in the event of the control of the East Indian Railway being transferred to an Indian Company to constitute a Board of sufficient strength and permanence in India. I am also to invite the careful examination by your Chamber of the relative merits of a Board in London and a Board in India having regard to the advantages and disadvantages of either system. I am to ask you to be good enough to let me have the considered opinion of your Chamber on the questions raised in this letter before the end of May.

The Secretary, Bengal Chamber of Commerce, in his letter No. 1446—1918, dated the 3rd July, 1918 (published in *The Englishman* of the 10th idem) disposes of the above reference in the negative—stating that the Chamber is opposed not only to the State management of the Indian Railways but also to the alternate proposal relating to the control of the East Indian Railway being transferred to an Indian Company to constitute a Board in India for its management. The Chamber is, in fact, as might be expected, in favour of *status quo*, i.e., the retention of the Company management of the East Indian Railway intact with its Board in London, as at present. "Another point in favour of

the Boards being retained in London—and in the opinion of the Committee it is a point of great importance—is that the final decision on railway policy rests with the Secretary of State for India. By their location in London the Boards are in close touch with the India Office, and were they to be located in India this great advantage would be gone." How does this fit in with the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme recently published which proposes to delegate greater powers to the Government of India,—is not quite intelligible to us. But that's neither here nor there, for it matters us little what the Bengal Chamber of Commerce says or suggests in this connection and we have no quarrel whatever in the matter with that august body. When, however, we find the Government of India still dallying with the matter in the manner indicated in their letter quoted above and wavering still as to whether it should assume complete control and working of the East Indian Railway with effect from 1st January, 1920, after serving upon the Company a notice to that effect, in terms of the contract, we are, we must confess, much disappointed. One of the charges hurled against the assumption by the Government of the management and complete control of the Indian Railways is its alleged inefficiency. While even the man in the street knows with what efficiency the Posts and Telegraphs as well as the works of Irrigation in India are carried on by the direct agency of the State, is it not somewhat strange that this charge of inefficiency of the State in the working of its Railways should continue to be dinned into our ears, again and again? If not for anything else, at least to give lie direct to this charge of inefficiency the Government of India should, without further hesitation, assume complete control of Indian Railways now under Company management, which is needed, besides, in the interests of the Indian tax-payers, as we have, again and again, pointed out in these columns.

The lines owned by the late East Indian Railway Company were purchased by the State in 1879, and all the contracts then subsisting between the Secretary of State and the Company (excepting those relating to debentures or debenture stock) were determined. The purchase price was £32,750,000, and it was provided that this should be paid in the form of a termin-

able annuity of the amount of £1,473,750 payable from the 1st January 1880 to the 14th February 1953. One-fifth of the annuity was deferred, and the holders of this portion (representing a capital of £6,550,000) constitute the present East Indian Railway Company.

By the contract of the 14th November 1899 the Government and the Company mutually agreed that they will not determine the contract dated the 22nd December 1879 before the 31st December 1919. On that date, or at the end of any succeeding fifth year thereafter, either party may determine the contract by giving two years' previous notice.

The following tables will give the intelligent reader not an inadequate idea as to the huge loss sustained, by the State, and therefore by the people, by the present arrangement of working the East Indian Railway, during the quinquennium ending 31st March 1917 :—

Year.	1912-13	1913-14	1914-15
Mileage open (Miles)	2,331'09	2,424'20	2,445'63
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Total Capital outlay	63,49,50,982	66,70,44,170	70,52,95,287
Gross Earnings	10,15,50,003	10,26,92,832	10,35,97,327
Net Earnings	6,32,20,565	6,13,38,002	6,25,79,018
Interest	1,26,75,172	1,35,41,326	1,48,59,653
Annuity	2,16,15,000	2,16,15,000	2,16,15,000
Company's share of surplus profits	25,95,359	24,12,112	24,04,291
Gain to the State	2,63,35,034	237,69,564	2,36,60,074

Year.	1915-16	1916-17
Mileage open (Miles)	2,448'22	2,495'26
	Rs.	Rs.
Total Capital outlay	71,50,37,347	72,11,24,810
Gross Earnings	10,51,90,203	11,08,91,903
Net Earnings	6,39,64,189	7,10,37,920
Interest	1,60,07,057	1,62,94,019
Annuity	2,16,15,000	2,16,15,000
Company's share of surplus profits	24,22,809	28,06,458
Gain to the State	2,39,19,323	3,03,22,443

In this connection we are glad to quote the following from *The Bombay Chronicle* :—

Speaking in the House of Commons the other day, Sir Albert Stanley, President of the Board of Trade, described the beneficial results of the complete State control which is now being exercised over English railways in the national interest :

"Passing to the control exercised by the Board of Trade, he dealt with the railways of Great Britain, which were the first large undertakings to be brought under control by the State. This control had been thoroughly satisfactory. It had been possible

through the unified system of control to operate the railways as a single unit. They had thereby secured the maximum of efficiency and had been able to make very substantial economies. Goods were sent by the shortest routes quite irrespective of any companies' boundaries, there was a common use of railway companies' rolling stock, and to a very considerable extent trades' wagons were used for the general trade of the country. It was now a common practice to operate much heavier trains, and the loading per wagon was very much heavier than it was prior to the war. Notwithstanding the number of men who had been withdrawn from the country, the railway companies were carrying more passengers exclusive of military account than they had ever carried before, and the goods traffic, quite independently of traffic on Government account, was also heavier than at any time in their history."

The Indian public expect similar and other advantages to accrue if the railways in India are taken entirely under State control, which they could only be if they were State managed. The Bengal Chamber does not touch on the arguments which the advocates of State management have advanced over and over again. It does not deal with these arguments for the simple reason that they are unanswerable. They are based on the fundamental conception that the railway system in the country must conduce to the convenience, comfort of the Indian people and to the industrial and commercial development of the country. The present system not merely disregards the convenience and comfort of the bulk of the passengers, who make the profits of railway companies, but it also places the Indian industrialists at a great disadvantage as compared with European industrialists. And it is the latter fact which explains why the Bengal Chamber is anxious to let things be as they are.

RAICHARAN MUKERJEE.

The Montagu-Chelmsford Report and Lord Durham's Report.

In the copy of the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms which we received from the press censor's office, there was enclosed a "summary" made under official auspices which gave expression to the opinion : "The report in which the Viceroy and the Secretary of State have embodied their recommendations on constitutional reforms in India will rank with the historic document in which Lord Durham laid the foundations of the constitution of Canada." This is a rather risky prophecy. But though one may not know what future there may be in store for the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, one need not feel any hesitation in saying that Lord Durham's Report was fundamentally different in spirit as well as in its recommendations from the one drawn up by the Secretary of State and the Viceroy. Their Report takes the incapacity and unfitness of Indians for granted, and provides all

sorts of checks and safeguards to prevent any possibility of mistakes being made by them. It is assumed that British officers serving in India are more interested in maintaining peace and order in the country than the people and their leaders. It was in a far different spirit that Lord Durham approached his task when he sat down to write his Report. "The colonists," wrote Lord Durham, "may not always know what laws are best for them or which of their countrymen are the fittest for conducting their affairs, but, at least, they have a greater interest in coming to a right judgment on these points, and will take greater pains to do so than those whose welfare is very remotely and slightly affected by the good or bad legislation of these portions of the Empire. If the colonists make bad laws, and select improper persons to conduct their affairs, they will generally be the only, always the greatest, sufferers; and like the people of other countries, they must bear the ills which they bring on themselves, until they choose to apply the remedy." In consequence of Lord Durham's report, an Act was passed in 1840 effecting the legislative union of Upper and Lower Canada and making the colonists masters in their own house. What was the state of education among these people at that time? What public spirit and capacity for mutual co-operation had they given proof of? How had they succeeded in local self-government? We read in Lord Durham's report: "It is impossible to exaggerate the want of education among the habitants. No means of instruction have ever been provided for them, and they are almost and universally destitute of the qualifications even of reading and writing." It is also written that "a great proportion of the teachers could neither read nor write." "In the rural districts habits of self-government were almost unknown and education is so scantily diffused as to render it difficult to procure a sufficient number of persons competent to administer the functions that would be created by a general scheme of popular local control." "French and British combined for no public objects or improvements, and could not harmonise even in associations of charity." Sir John Bourinot says that at that time there was great racial bitterness among those two sections of the people. Commercial rivalry

increased their mutual dislike and jealousy. In consequence, "trade languished, internal development ceased, landed property decreased in value, the revenue showed a diminution, roads and all classes of local improvements were neglected, agricultural industry was stagnant, wheat had to be imported for the consumption of the people and immigration fell off."

Yet Lord Durham advocated the *immediate* grant of *full* responsible government to Canada. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report displays no such courage, magnanimity, and faith in human nature.

The Touchstone of Logic.

Dr. S. Subrahmanya Aiyer recently wrote in the course of a letter to the Madras papers:—

"If a scheme of reforms is produced by any section of our countrymen, we have a duty to carefully examine that scheme. Anything which originates with foreigners, violates the principle of Self-determination and, therefore, time and energy should be economised in dealing with them. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report falls in the second class, and a strong, wholesale and prompt rejection is all that is necessary."

In a world which is full of opportunists and "practical" politicians, there is certainly need for men who would strongly take their stand on principles and would not shrink from enunciating their strictly logical conclusions. British statesmen and their Allies have shouted times out of number that they have been fighting all these years for the principle of Self-determination, to enable peoples or nations to devise and choose their own forms of government. They have not said that the dependent peoples of the British Empire were not to have the benefit of this principle. Dr. S. Subrahmanya Aiyer was, therefore, quite within his logical rights in saying that it was for Indians to say what form of government they would have, 'it was not for foreigners to devise one for them and impose it on them. Nay, it was necessary that British statesmen should thus be logically hoisted on their own petard as it were!

But unfortunately Dr. Subrahmanya Aiyer himself does not seem to have sufficient faith in the principle of Self-determination in the abstract, for in the sentence following that in which he advises rejection of the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme, he modifies that strictly logical piece of advice by saying that if any

scheme does not give the final goal of full responsible government in India and indicate the steps towards its realisation, it should not be accepted.

Nevertheless, we are grateful to him for reminding us of the majesty of the great principle of Self-determination. If the selfishness of the British people and the weakness and servility of the Indian people prevent both the peoples from following it in practice, it is not the principle that is to blame, but these peoples.

Milk, or Water mixed with Powdered Rice.

The Brahmin warrior Drona tells the following story in the *Adi Parva* of the *Mahabharata*, section 133, relating to his son Aswathama :

It so happened that one day the child Aswathama observing some rich men's sons drink milk, began to cry. At this I was so beside myself that I lost all knowledge of direction. Instead of asking him who had only a few kine, I was desirous of obtaining a cow from one who had many, and for that I wandered from country to country. But my wanderings proved unsuccessful, for I failed to obtain a milch cow. After I had come back unsuccessful, some of his playmates gave him water mixed with powdered rice. Drinking this, the poor boy, from inexperience, was deceived into the belief that he had taken milk, and began to dance in joy, saying, "O I have taken milk, I have taken milk!" Beholding him dancing with joy amid his playmates smiling at his simplicity, I was exceedingly touched. Hearing also the derisive speeches of busy-bodies who said, "Fie upon the indigent Drona, who strives not to earn wealth! whose son drinking water mixed with powdered rice mistaketh it for milk and danceth with joy, saying, I have taken milk, I have taken milk!" I was quite beside myself. Reproaching myself much, I at last resolved that even if I should live cast off and censured by Brahmanas, I would not yet, from desire of wealth, be anybody's servant, which is ever hateful.

Indian politicians have been discussing for the last few weeks whether the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme has given them milk or "water mixed with powdered rice." That it is not pure unadulterated milk, admits of no doubt. It is possible that it is water mixed with powdered rice. Whatever it may be, our political Aswathamas should be wiser than to dance in joy, saying, "We have got milk, we have got milk!" The free peoples of the earth who know by experience what milk is, cannot but deride us if we mistake water mixed with powdered rice for milk.

Our own opinion is that the mixture consists of 5 per cent milk and 95 per cent water mixed with powdered rice. This is a rough estimate, not the result of careful chemical analysis.

Indian Reform Bill Being Drafted.

Paragraph 354 of the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms says :—

"In a matter of so great intricacy and importance it is obvious that full and public discussion is necessary. Pledges have been given that the opportunity for such discussion will be afforded. All that we ask, therefore, of His Majesty's Government for the present is that they will assent to the publication of our report..... Our proposals can only benefit by reasoned criticism both in England and India, official and non-official alike."

When the report was published it was given out that the Cabinet had not yet considered it, which meant that such consideration by the Cabinet involved the possibility of important or unimportant changes in the proposals contained in it. The pledges given that opportunity for full discussion will be afforded, also pointed to the possibility of change.

But can it be that all this was after all mere make-believe or camouflage, and that there is no probability of any important change being made in the proposals? It is true, discussion has not been prevented in India. But full discussion in England is of far greater importance now than in India. To that country, however, we cannot send any delegates to place our views before the British public. So the discussion there is one-sided. Thus the pledge that opportunity will be given for full discussion has been broken. But even if such opportunity had been given, would it have been of much use? Reuter cabled the following message from London on July 15 :—

In the Commons replying to Commander Wedgwood Mr. Montagu stated that a bill embodying his and Lord Chelmsford's proposals was being drafted. He could not say whether the drafting would be finished in three months. It was a very complicated business.

Mr. Whyte asked.—When will the standing committee on Indian affairs be set up?

Mr. Montagu replied.—I cannot answer that question until the Government has decided its policy.

If the Cabinet has not considered the Report and the Government has not decided its policy, why is a bill being drafted? Ordinary bills are drafted after Government has made up its mind and settled its policy as regards the subject of the bill. It is difficult to understand why a bill relating to fundamental changes in India should be drafted before Government has considered the proposals of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy and decided its policy. Or are such consideration and such decision of policy mere

formalities to be gone through at some convenient future date, and hence they need not stand in the way of the drafting of the bill, as they cannot possibly result in any important changes in the bill? If that be so, discussion must also be practically useless. But the Report says: "Our proposals can only benefit by reasoned criticism both in England and India, official and non-official alike." Where does the benefit come in? We know bills may and do undergo important modifications before they are passed, when the interests of powerful British parties are affected. But there is no strong party either within the British Parliament or outside, which is at all likely to exert its influence to obtain for Indians more political power than the Report proposes to give them. The probability lies rather in the opposite direction.

Puffing the Reform Scheme.

Our impression that the Reform Scheme is not likely to undergo any important modification is strengthened by the loud acclamations with which it has been generally received in the British Press. British politicians like British traders know how to puff their goods. The Report has been so extolled to the skies as if it recommended that the people of India should be immediately liberated and made independent! Men of British descent have even expressed grave doubts as to whether educated Indians would be able to prove themselves fit for exercising the rights which the Report proposes to confer on them! After all this the wonder is that large numbers of Indians having "a stake in the country" have not declared in public meeting assembled that the Report is too much in advance of the times and that the proposals should be considered five centuries hence. The encomiums bestowed on the Report in the British Press are calculated to create an impression among the Allied nations and in the "civilised world" in general that the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals are a feat in statesmanship unparalleled in history for boldness and generosity. The attacks on the Report in the same Press, not so much in evidence as the panegyric, are calculated to produce the same impression in an indirect manner. They are meant to lead the world to believe that the British people are by their excess of

liberalism, generosity and boldness going to produce a political revolution in India similar to the Russian revolution. But how far removed from the reality are both the encomiums and the denunciations! And how hollow all this camouflage!

The Political Uniqueness of India.

In the world's history, no nation ever obtained self-government by such stages or compartments as are proposed in the case of India. In the government of the whole country of India we are still only to criticise and influence, we are not to control the Government. In the provinces, we are to have in theory control over some politically "unimportant" or "non-essential" subjects, the ministers in charge thereof being subject to the advice, guidance and control of the Governor. The Governor, the Governor-General, and the Secretary of State are to have the power of the veto. The Government of India are also to have the power of overriding legislation. The Governors and the Governor-General are to have the power of dissolving their legislatures, which, as they are not like constitutional rulers acting in this matter on the advice of responsible ministers, they ought not to have.

It is not known what the electoral qualifications of voters are to be for the Indian Legislative Assembly and the Provincial Legislative Councils. The qualifications, to be decided upon by a committee, are to vary not only from province to province, but may be different even within the same province from district to district according to differing stages of political, educational and economic advancement. The "transferred" subjects to be under the charge of "responsible" Indian ministers, have not yet been named. They are to be listed by another committee. They will not be the same for different provinces, for the provinces are not exactly at the same stage of development!

So, here is a lesson for the world in the varied character of the provinces and regions of India. And neither the whole of India, nor any part of it, is fit for "self-determination", for which, *of course outside the dependent portions of the British Empire*, the British people are fighting. But in all regions of the world (particularly in Europe) which lie beyond the bounds of the British Empire, *in esse or in posse*,

there is not the least difference in the political capacity of the peoples, absolutely no differing stages of political development. Serbians, Bulgarians, Belgians, Montenegrins, Rumanians, Poles, Czechoslavs, Yugo-Slavs,—all are equally fit for *immediate independence* and self-determination. When the Russian Revolutionaries drove out the Tsar and set up a republic, the Allies, including the British people, recognised all the inhabitants of the Russian Empire,—speaking numerous languages, professing various religions, belonging to widely differing ethnological groups, at various stages of civilisation from the nomadic to the industrial—as equally fit for political independence and self-determination! But when you come to India, why even Sir S. P. Sinha, the Anglo-Indian Government's Show-boy, is not fit for Self-determination! Verily we are a unique people, living in a unique country, and governed by the most efficient and the most altruistic bureaucracy in the world! May we never cease to take comfort from the thought!

Charter or Chance or Charity?

Reuter has cabled to us Commander Wedgewood's advice to the people of India to accept the Montagu-Chelmsford *charter* and make the best of it. He may be sincere, though ill-informed, in his advice, but we must frankly tell him what we feel.

It is necessary for the very independent political existence of the British people to win the war. Hence, all British political parties have sunk their differences so far as is necessary for the successful prosecution of the war. And one of the moral weapons used to obtain victory is the declaration that the British people are fighting for the world's freedom, for democracy and for the right of self-determination of nations. In order to prove the sincerity of this declaration Great Britain must show that within her dependencies she has given or is going to give effect to the principle underlying this declaration. So, it is necessary that there must not be any party differences in the attitude of British politicians and journalists towards the Reform Scheme. Like efforts to win the War, it is a National cause to show that India is being given her due. One is allowed to say that too much is being given her, one may of course say that she

is getting just what she requires and is fit for, but one must not say that nothing or too little is being given her; for that would be against the National Policy of Great Britain. Thus, in judging of the worth of the Reform Scheme, we must be guided solely or mainly by our own political knowledge, acumen and experience, not by the advice of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, nor by that of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald or Mr. Josiah Wedgewood.

The Report does not give us any charter. In the governance of India, the most important things or functions are in the hands of the Government of India. But the Secretary of State and the Viceroy say: "It is true that we do not offer responsibility to elected members of the [All-India] Legislative Assembly." There is no definite or indefinite promise in the report that the Government of India will ever be "responsible" to the people even in any "transferred" subjects. Needless to say, therefore, that there is consequently no machinery provided for the gradual transformation of the Government of India from an "irresponsible" bureaucracy into a "responsible" constitutional government. So this so-called *Charter* leaves it to be inferred that possibly the most important affairs in the governance of India will be managed for an indefinite period or for all time by an "irresponsible" bureaucracy. Is such beautiful vagueness the characteristic of a charter? For the provinces, there is no definitely fixed electoral qualification. This is to be determined by a committee, and may differ from province to province and from region to region in the same province. Is this charter-like? The subjects to be "transferred" to Indian ministers are not named; they will not be the same in all the provinces; they are to be listed by another committee. Is this charter-like?

Consider, again, how much is left to chance and charity. The electoral qualifications and the "transferred" subjects are to be decided upon by two committees, *not appointed or elected by us*. We are left to the mercy of men whom we cannot call to account. This is neither self-determination nor like a charter. After five years' time from the first meeting of the reformed councils in the provinces, we shall again have to depend on the charity, mercy, generosity or good graces of the Government of India and the

Secretary of State. And that in this wise, Paragraph 260 of the report says :

"After five years' time from the first meeting of the reformed councils we suggest that the Government of India should hear applications from either the provincial Government or the provincial council for the modification of the reserved and transferred lists of the province ; and that after considering the evidence laid before them they should recommend for the approval of the Secretary of State the transfer of such further subjects to the transferred list as they think desirable. On the other hand, if it should be made plain to them that certain functions have been seriously maladministered, it will be open to them with the sanction of the Secretary of State to retransfer subjects from the transferred to the reserved list, or to place restrictions for the future on the ministers' powers in respect of certain transferred subjects. This examination of the question by the Government of India after the lapse of five years will be of value in enabling the allotment of portfolios to be redetermined, if need be, in the light of the experience gained during that time. But it is also desirable to complete the responsibility of the ministers for the transferred subjects. This should come in one of two ways, either at the initiative of the council if it desires and is prepared to exercise greater control over the ministers, or the discretion of the Government of India, which may wish to make this change as a condition of the grant of new, or of the maintenance of existing, powers. We propose therefore that the Government of India may, when hearing such applications, direct that the ministers' salaries, instead of any longer being treated as a reserved subject and therefore protected in the last resort by the Governor's order from interference, should be specifically voted each year by the legislative council ; or failing such direction by the Government of India, it should be open to the councils at that time or subsequently to demand by resolution that such ministers' salaries should be so voted and the Government of India should thereupon give effect to such request. The ministers would in fact become ministers in the parliamentary sense. The councils would have power to refuse to pass their salaries, and they would have to accept the consequences which constitutional convention attaches to such a vote."

It will be seen from the above that there would be the possibility of re-transfer from the list of "transferred" subjects to that of "reserved" subjects and of restrictions being placed on the powers of ministers in respect of certain transferred subjects. It may be said that we must not suspect that the Government of India would exercise their powers in any arbitrary or ungenerous manner. But is it the characteristic of charters to have superabundant faith in the reasonableness, generosity and altruism of autocrats and bureaucrats ? Is a world-war going to happen every five years or ten years to stimulate the sense of justice, the liberalism and the generosity of British statesmen and Anglo-Indian bureaucrats ? British statesmen and Anglo-Indian bureaucrats

are not likely to be either more just, liberal and generous or less just, liberal and generous, in dealing with India after the war than they were before the war. And in the report itself it is admitted that, with all their sense of justice, liberalism and generosity, "Hitherto we have ruled India by a system of absolute government", and "that Parliament's omission to institute regular means of reviewing the Indian administration is as much responsible as any single cause for *our failure in the face of growing nationalist feeling in India, to think out and to work out a policy of continuous advance.*" In all countries where the people have won or got charters, these have been intended to definitely raise the people from a position of dependence on the good graces of the powers that be to the position of sure possessors and enjoyers of well-defined rights of which they cannot be deprived. It may or may not be justifiable to suspect that British statesmen and Anglo-Indian bureaucrats would act in an unjust or illiberal manner. But what we have the right to ask frankly is, why a Report should be called a Charter which has the effect of breeding in us a periodical beggar-like mood of expectancy.

For, the need of cultivating the mendicant mood would not cease to exist at the end of the first five years. Ten years after the first meeting of the councils established under the statute a parliamentary commission is to be appointed to review the position. "The commissioners' mandate should be to consider whether by the end of the term of the legislature then in existence it would be possible to establish complete responsible government in any province or provinces, or how far it would be possible to approximate it to others ; to advice on the continued reservation of any departments for the transfer of which to popular control it has been proved to their satisfaction that the time had not yet come ; to recommend the retransfer of other matters to the control of the Governor in council if serious maladministration were established ; and to make any recommendations for the working of responsible government or the improvement of the constitutional machinery which experience of the systems in operation may show to be desirable." It is clear from the report that "responsible government," such as it is, will not be established

in any province even after a decade. The report says: "In proposing the appointment of a commission ten years after the new Act takes effect we wish to guard against possible misunderstanding. We would not be taken as implying that there can be established by that time complete responsible government in the provinces. In many of the provinces no such consummation can follow in the time named. The pace will be everywhere unequal, though progress in one province will always stimulate progress elsewhere; but undue expectations might be aroused, if we indicated any opinion as to the degree of approximation to complete self-government that might be reached even in one or two of the most advanced provinces. The reasons that make complete responsibility at present impossible are likely to continue operative in some degree even after a decade." It has been proposed, therefore, "that the further course of constitutional development in the country.....shall from time to time be similarly investigated at intervals of twelve years, a period which represents the life of four councils under the existing regulations." So, we and our descendants and successors must learn to rouse in our and their minds the mood of mendicant expectancy to its acme first after five years, then after another five years, and thence-forward every twelve years. No period is named or indicated at the end of which our periodical political university examinations will cease to be held, and when any province and all the provinces may be declared to have graduated in the Faculty of Provincial Administration. Supposing such a time ever arrives, it is left entirely uncertain as to whether after all the provinces had graduated in the Faculty of Provincial Administration, there would be any post-graduate courses in Pan-Indian Administration, by mastering and passing in which our grandchildren's grand-children might expect to become full-fledged Masters or Doctors of Pan-Indian Administration.

And this is our Charter!

Has there ever been in the world's history any Charter which laid it down that, unless the grantees could satisfy the grantors that the former were good boys, not only could they not have more rights, but that even the natural and ordinary citizen's rights already obtained by them would be taken away,—it being always

borne in mind that whatever rights the grantees acquired meant the curtailment of the privileges and powers of the grantors?

Qualifications for the Vote.

The proposal that qualifications for the vote are not to be the same in the different provinces and even in all parts of the same province, is defended on the ground that all parts of India and all parts of each province are not equally advanced, educationally, politically and economically. This sounds very well in theory. But representative institutions exist in many countries of Europe, America and Asia. Are all parts of every such country equally advanced in every respect? Obviously not. Even all the shires of the United Kingdom of England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland are not equally advanced in all respects. Such being the case, are qualifications for the vote different in different parts of all or most self-governing countries?

The differences which the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme proposes to make in different parts of India as regards reserved and transferred subjects, electoral qualifications, and the periods after which different provinces of India may have a greater or less amount of "responsible" government, are sure to prove causes of jealousy and heart-burning between province and province, Division and Division and even district and district.

Re-transfer of "transferred" Subjects.

We have seen before that if "responsible" provincial ministers prove unfit for their charges, in the opinion of the foreign rulers of India, a "transferred" subject may be re-transferred to the bureaucratic members of the Government. But if a European member of the bureaucracy, or a Governor, is incompetent, will a reserved subject entrusted to him be transferred to the charge of the responsible Indian minister or ministers? Nothing is said in the Report regarding such a contingency. But it is not an impossibility. Let us mention a few examples. Whose failure was it in the earlier stages of the Mesopotamia campaign, a failure which made some features of Hell visible among the soldiers in that country? The failure was on the part of some Anglo-Indian bureaucrat or bureaucrats. Who were responsible for the deaths of millions of persons in the

Orissa famine of 1865-67 and the great South Indian famine of 1876-78, not to mention other terrible famines? Who failed to maintain peace and order and prevent outrages in the Mymensingh and Tipperah districts in the days of the anti-partition agitation, who failed to maintain order in several Punjab districts in more recent times, who was responsible for failing to prevent the riots in Arrah, who failed to preserve order and prevent outrages in the Barabazar and Machooabazar areas of Calcutta on more occasions than one in recent years? Was not the partition of Bengal a blunder, and did not Lord Macdonnell say openly in the House of Lords that it was the greatest since Plassey? It cannot be denied that but for this measure revolutionary ideas would not have taken root in Bengal. Even the Rowlatt Committee's report admits that "It was the agitation that attended and followed on the latter measure that brought previous discontent to a climax and afforded a much-desired opportunity to Barindra and his friends" (p. 13). The responsible parties were one and all British bureaucrats serving in India. So, most incredible and astonishing though it may sound, British bureaucrats serving in India are not infallible. They may be incompetent, they may be wanting in judgment, they may even be guilty of neglect of duty; for there *have been* imbeciles and vicious men among them, men who were undutiful and injudicious. Therefore, in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report there ought to have been a proposal that if a Governor-in-Council or any European member of an Executive Council prove incompetent, their charges should be transferred to Indian Governors and Executive-Council Members appointed in their place. Of course, it is almost unthinkable that a parliamentary commission composed of British members should find any of their own countrymen out here incompetent; but we make the suggestion in order that the Reform Scheme may be theoretically perfect and its authors may claim to be fair and impartial.

However hard Britishers may try to make us believe that they are infallible, the attempt appears to us ridiculous. British history itself, even very recent history, shows what serious mistakes men of cabinet rank have made, what greed, speculation and corruption even prime

ministers have been guilty of, what imbecility and incompetence high place and pedigree have concealed. Therefore, the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms ought to have taken for granted that both British and Indian men in authority may prove incapable or negligent, and provided the remedy. It may be argued that if one or more British bureaucrats prove unsuccessful, that does not mean that the whole British race are incapable,—incapable men may be replaced by capable ones. Exactly. But why is not the same argument to apply in the case of Indians? If one or more Indian ministers fail, why is it to be assumed that capable Indians cannot be found to replace them and therefore the subjects with which they were entrusted must be retransferred and again be made reserved subjects? It may be said in reply: "O, but we British people have produced so large a number of capable men that it must be taken for granted that we can always find substitutes for nincompoops and sluggards." But as we, too, have in our history, which is longer than British history, produced a very large number of successful men of all kinds, given the opportunity, we can produce the same or a larger number now and in future. Moreover, the question is not, whether the British people as a whole are more capable than the Indian people. The question is, is it right to infer the incapacity of a whole people from the failure of a few men, *chosen as ministers not by their own people, but by a foreign governor*, during an experiment extending over five, ten or twelve years? Certainly not. When among self-governing independent peoples, ministers or other men in authority make serious, nay fatal, mistakes, as in Gallipoli, the men are called to account, but the whole people or nation are not pronounced incompetent and their affairs placed in the hands of a foreign people. Because this would be unjust and unreasonable, and because there is no strong and impartial world-tribunal or world-parliament which can do it. But in the case of dependent peoples, this is done or proposed to be done, because it is easy to do it. But what is feasible is not necessarily fair and just. The right to manage one's own affairs, is a natural right, and it cannot cease to be a natural right even though one may make very

serious mistakes. In fact, the right to make mistakes and yet to continue to remain in charge of one's own affairs is an essential right. For that provides the only school where one may learn to be efficient.

Well has the *Philippine Review* (May, 1916) observed :—

Dependent peoples are always looked upon by Westerners as short of qualifications ; and, whatever their actual merits may be, they (their merits) are lost sight of under cover of such *advisably* prevailing belief that they (said people) are short of qualifications.

Their failures are magnified, and their successes minimized. Their failures are theirs, and their successes not theirs, and the latter are necessarily the work of their masters.

The mistakes of independent peoples are not mistakes to them ; but the same mistakes, if made by dependent peoples even in the minimum degree, are considered mistakes in the maximum degree deserving the most spiteful condemnation,—the result of their alleged lack of qualifications, character, or what not.

Besides, dependent peoples are not in a position to act for themselves ; for others act for them—those who, for one reason or another, in one way or another, have assumed responsibility for their tutelage—and are always discriminated against, and subject to the pleasure of their masters, whose convenience must obtain.

On the other hand, an independent people are free from outside prejudices, none cares to waste time searching for their virtues and vices, and they are *per se* considered as fully qualified people, particularly if before and behind them big modern guns can deafeningly roar defensively and offensively.

The Announcement of August 20, 1917, and the Montagu-Chelmsford Report.

The first chapter of the report on Indian constitutional reforms begins with a reproduction of the announcement made by the Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons on August 20, 1917 ; and it is observed : "We take these words to be the most momentous utterance ever made in India's chequered history." India's chequered history is a very long one. The British period of that history is neither the only one worth mentioning, nor the most glorious. And even in the British period Queen Victoria's Proclamation was a more momentous utterance than the announcement quoted in the report. But that is not the main observation which we wish to make thereupon. There is an English proverb which runs :—"Do not look a gift horse in the mouth ;" but the people of India have followed this precept so patiently in the past with regard to public announcements and they have found such meagre results from doing

so, that now they are inclined to look with suspicion on all new Proclamations and to say with the Latin poet that those persons are most to be feared who come with gifts in their hands.

We cannot fail to remember how the Queen's Proclamation, promising racial equality, was whittled down and how its force was explained away by Lord Curzon and others. This experience is too fresh in our memories for us not to look with grave suspicion on the qualifying paragraph in the announcement of August 20, 1918. It runs as follows :—

"The British Government and the Government of India, on whom the responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples, must be judges of the time and measure of each advance."

If the responsibility for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples were a matter of concern only for the British Government and the Government of India, then there might be some reason for stating that they alone were to be judges of the time and measure of each advance. But it goes without saying that the Indian peoples themselves are far more intimately concerned in their own welfare and progress than any British Government or Government of India (as at present constituted) can possibly be. It should therefore be obvious that *their* voice should be heard in judging the time and measure of each advance and not merely or chiefly the voice of the British and Indian Governments.

There is a wellknown story in English History of King Canute sitting in his chair as the tide came in and saying to the incoming waves,—*"Thus far shalt thou go and no further."* There is something pathetic in the fallacy, which seems to be shared in common by all autocratic rulers in all ages, that they can set bounds by some statute of their own to the vast incalculable movements of national upheaval ; that they can say at each moment, *"Thus far shalt thou go and no further."* It is forgotten that world-forces, too, have to be reckoned with. Was it as entirely free choosers of the time and measure of each advance of the Indian people that their rulers made the announcement of August 20, 1917, and wrote and published the report on Indian constitutional reforms on July 8, 1918 ; or did they also feel the compelling force of circumstance ?

If the British Government and the

Government of India were altogether one with the Indian peoples in interest, sentiment, race and religion, there might be hope that the signs of the times would be closely watched and followed, and no very grave mistake in judgment might ensue. But the history of recent British Rule in India, as the present Report frankly acknowledges, has shown how the two elements,—the Government and the people,—have been drifting farther apart. Is it conceivable, then, that rulers of this description will be the best and wisest "judges as to the time and measure of each advance"?

One point, of even more serious importance, is to be noted throughout the whole of this second paragraph of the Announcement. However good the intentions of the writers may have been, it has the air of the superior person about it. Opportunities of service are to be *conferred* on Indians. Indians are to be judged worthy or unworthy of more self-governing powers according to "the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility." There is no open acknowledgement of self-government as an elemental human right which all men ought to share. Instead of this, there is a kind of bargaining with this very right as a thing which may or may not be conferred on Indians according to what their judges consider good or bad behaviour. It is this frame of mind, more than anything else, which needs changing, if healthy co-operation between the rulers and the ruled is to be made possible.

The British Prime Minister and other British statesmen of high rank have repeatedly declared that the present European war is a war for securing to nations the right of self-determination. But this announcement says that the British Government and the Government of India must be the judges of the time and the measure of each advance. Where does the right of self-determination come in here? Were British statesmen then guilty of mental reservation, when they made their declaration about the principle of self-determination in an unqualified form and probably mentally excluded India from its benefit? Or will they have recourse to petty quibbling, saying either that the principle is meant for small nations, and India is not a small nation, or that it is meant only for nations, and

the people of India are not a nation? But even in that case one might ask, Are the natives of the former German Colonies in Africa, who have been promised the right of self-determination by Mr. Lloyd George, nations?

Considering both the spirit and the letter of the announcement, it must be said that in one most important, if not the most important, respect, the report is not a fulfilment nor even a step in fulfilment of the central promise contained in the announcement. The promise was that of "the progressive realization of responsible government in India." India does not mean any part of India, or even all the parts taken separately and singly; it means the country considered as a whole. Now, in the report, so far as the governance of India as a whole is concerned there is neither the actuality nor even a promise of the introduction of the principle of responsible government to the smallest extent. It may be said that full responsible government must first be attained in all the provinces, before its introduction in India as a whole can be talked of. But why was not that said clearly in the announcement? It speaks of responsible government *in India*, not in the provinces. We have not got full freedom even in our local bodies like the municipalities, district boards, &c. Therefore the first formula laid down in the report is: "There should be, as far as possible, complete popular control in local bodies and the largest possible independence for them of outside control." This, rightly, has not been called "responsible government in India" nor even its beginning. If full popular control in *local* affairs cannot be called "responsible government in India," that name cannot also be given to full popular control in *provincial* affairs, when that is attained. Our argument, briefly, is this: the functionaries in charge of at least one very unimportant Pan-Indian department of the Government of India must be made responsible to the people or their representatives in the legislature before it can be said that the promise of "the progressive realization of responsible government in India" has been fulfilled or begun to be fulfilled. Popular control in the affairs of parts of India,—be the parts small or large, be they villages, towns, sub-divisions, districts, or provinces—is not at all synonymous with "responsible government in

India." There will be the beginning of "responsible government in India" only as soon as the people of India begin to have control in Pan-Indian matters. But the third formula in the report concludes by saying only this: "In the meantime the Indian Legislative Council should be enlarged and made more representative and its opportunities of influencing Government increased." The report does not go further than this. Therefore it does not give effect to the central principle of the announcement. Moreover, far from making the Government of India responsible to the people in the least degree, it actually increases in some respects its autocratic powers and releases it from responsibility to Parliament in some matters. To that extent it goes against the policy underlying the announcement.

The Racial Bar in the Public Services.

In the summary of the recommendations contained in the report, we find the following:—

64. Any racial bars that still exist in regulations for appointment to the public services to be abolished.

65. In addition to recruitment in England, where such exists, a system of appointment to all the public services to be established in India.

66. Percentages of recruitment in India, with definite rate of increase, to be fixed for all these services.

67. In the Indian Civil Service the percentage to be 33 per cent. of the superior posts, increasing annually by $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. until the position is reviewed by the commission.

Recommendations like the above have been taken and explained by some advocates of the reform scheme to mean that all racial distinctions are to be abolished in the public services. That is not so, as we shall presently see.

If the intention of the writers of the report had been to abolish all racial distinctions, they would have recommended the holding of simultaneous competitive examinations in India and England for all the services for which there is at present recruitment in England. They would not have merely fixed an increased percentage of the appointments to be made in India. The removal of the racial bar ought properly to mean that all appointments are to be made solely on the ground of merit, irrespective of race; that is to say, that race is not to be considered either a qualification or a disqualification. If such a principle were followed, and proper arrangements were

made for giving effect to it, all or most of the appointments might go to Indians or to Europeans; but nobody would be justified in making a grievance of that fact.

It is to be carefully noted that 33 per cent. of the *superior posts* in the Indian Civil Service are proposed to be filled in India, not 33 per cent. of *all* the posts; so that the actual number will be very small.

It is also to be noted that the method of recruitment in India is not definitely mentioned. If it be not by competitive examination but by some system of nomination, not only will the most deserving not get the posts, but such a system will cause demoralization among a large circle of educated young men and their guardians. They would try to behave in such a way as to be able to win the good graces of district officers, police superintendents, &c.

The principle of race equality was explicitly recognized by the Court of Directors of the East India Company when they said that there was to be no governing caste in India. In the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, too, equality was promised. It was Lord Curzon who started the cry of having a *corps de elite* in the public service, consisting of officers of British birth. And ever since many official and non-official Europeans have insisted that the *British character of the administration*, whatever that may mean, must be maintained. In the present report, far from the claim of racial superiority being knocked on the head, the principle of race superiority is enunciated in a very arrogant and offensive form.

In paragraph 155 it is stated:—

We have shown that the political education of the ryot cannot be a very rapid and may be a very difficult process. Till it is complete he must be exposed to the risk of oppression by people who are stronger and cleverer than he is; and until it is clear that his interests can safely be left in his own hands or that the legislative councils represent and consider his interests, we must retain power to protect him. So with the depressed classes.

In the words "risk of oppression by people who are stronger and cleverer than he is," reference is made to "people" of his own race. It is assumed, contrary to the facts recorded in history, laws and newspapers from the days of Clive and Warren Hastings downwards, that the ryot and the depressed classes have been

and may be oppressed only by higher class people of their own race, not by people of the British race, too! It is assumed, contrary to the teaching of history, that the latter have always played only the part of protectors of the Indian masses. In their own country, did the higher class British members of parliament represent and consider the interests of the labouring classes from the birth of representative institutions? Do they do so now? What for, then, has the Labour Party been formed? Even an elementary knowledge of the history of parliamentary representation shows that the classes have never properly represented the masses, and that the representation of the masses has been gradually secured by successive reform acts. Yet the fact that the classes did not or could not represent the masses was never allowed to stand in the way of the British legislature acquiring full control over national affairs in all directions.

It cannot but be admitted that just as in other old civilised countries so in India, the higher classes do not fully represent the lower classes; but it is as false as it is insulting to assume that the foreign bureaucrat has sought to protect and promote the interests of the ryots and the depressed classes to a greater extent than their own educated countrymen.

But it is in speaking of the public services that race arrogance finds expression in its most offensive form. Let us illustrate what we mean by quoting some sentences from paragraph 314.

The characteristics which we have learned to associate with the Indian public services must as far as possible be maintained; and the leaven of officers possessed of them should be strong enough to assure and develop them in the service as a whole. The qualities of courage, leadership, decision, fixity of purpose, detached judgment, and integrity in her public servants will be as necessary as ever to India. There must be no such sudden swamping of any service with any new element that its whole character suffers a rapid alteration. As practical men we must also recognise that there are essential differences between the various services and that it is possible to increase the employment of Indians in some more than in others. The solution lies therefore in recruiting year by year such a number of Indians as the existing members of the service will be able to train in an adequate manner and inspire with the spirit of the whole.

Let any intelligent and honest man say whether this is the language of men who want really to do away with racial distinctions in the public services.

The "new element" is the Indian element, and as it is an inferior element not inherently possessed, like the superior British element, of "the qualities of courage, leadership, decision, fixity of purpose, detached judgment, and integrity," "there must be no" "sudden swamping of any service with" this new element! Every year, suppose, some 40 or 50 new covenanted civilians join the service. If these young men are all or mostly Europeans, either they do not require any adequate training by the older men in the service, they do not require to be inspired with the spirit of the whole,—their race makes training and inspiration unnecessary, being itself a training and an inspiration,—or this training and inspiration can be very easily given them by the older British I.C.S. men. But when it comes to the question of training the young civilians of Indian birth, why, they are necessarily by their race so inferior to their fellows of British birth of the same age, that it would be very difficult to the older I. C. S. men to train and inspire them! Therefore, only a very small number of this bad lot, of this inferior "new element," must be recruited every year. Otherwise the "whole character" of the service would "suffer a rapid alteration" for the worse! And who are these young Indians who are branded as inferior? They have stood a severe competitive test,—a proof of intellectual attainments and at least some moral worth. They have passed in riding, which speaks of their physical fitness. They have braved the seas, and the courage and self-restraint necessary to go to a distant foreign country for undergoing difficult courses of studies are indications of the possession of at least some strength of character. But it is *assumed* that they are inferior to their stay-at-home British competitors, whose superiority is axiomatic. Have the Indian members of the I. C. S. been found by experience to be as a class lacking in the qualities named in the report? When and by what decisive tests was this assumed inferiority established?

This is obliteration of race distinctions with a vengeance!

The writers of the report have not even dreamt that a time may come when the entire personnel of the higher services can be Indian. They say: "*the continued*

presence of the English officer is vital, and we intend to act on that belief."

Self-rule and Getting High Posts.

There cannot be complete self-rule in a country unless the personnel of the services becomes entirely indigenous. This is so obvious that in the Philippine Islands the American Government has been rapidly filipinizing the services. Filipinization of the government service was the policy of President Mackinley in his organic letter of instructions, and has been endorsed with emphasis as a principle by succeeding presidents and by most of the Governors General of the islands. The law requires that the Filipinos be given an opportunity to fill any offices for which they demonstrate their ability, which will be evident from the following extract from the civil service act :

Sec. 6. In the appointment of officers and employees under the provisions of this act, the appointing officer in his selection from the list of eligibles, furnished to him by the director of civil service, shall, where other qualifications are equal, prefer—

First. Natives of the Philippine Islands or persons who have, under and by virtue of the Treaty of Paris, acquired the political rights of the natives of the islands.

Second. Persons who have served as members of the Army, Navy, or Marine corps of the United States and have been honorably discharged therefrom.

Third. Citizens of the United States.

So in their native land *the Filipinos have the first claim to civil service appointments, and their conquerors the Americans have the last claim.*

The extract from the report of the Governor General of the islands given below will show that the Americans have adopted the policy of filipinization, not in pursuit of some abstract political theory, but for the sake of administrative efficiency.

"In addition to the justice of the policy of filipinization, it is obvious to all that efficiency must result when capable Filipinos are placed in office, because thereby the confidence and cordial co-operation of the people are obtained. An administrative efficiency which may sparkle in the lecture room is not necessarily perceptible in action when the co-operation of the people cannot be obtained or when the opposition of the people is invited."

Americans are examined for and appointed to the Philippine civil service only when there are no properly qualified Filipino eligibles. For detailed proof, see the extracts given in the article on "America's Work in the Philippines" published in the Modern Review for March, 1917.

Instead of laying down the policy of complete Indianization of the services in the long run and bringing it about as rapidly as possible, the Montagu-Chelmsford report says in paragraph 324 :—

"We are no longer seeking to govern a subject race by means of the services ; we are seeking to make the Indian people self-governing. To this end we believe that the continued presence of the English officer is vital, and we intend to act on that belief."

How paradoxical ! You intend to make us self-governing by providing that we shall have "the continued presence" of English masters bearing the courtesy name of civil servants. And in respect of certain functions, it is said in paragraph 323, "English commissioners, magistrates, doctors and engineers will be required to carry out the policy of Indian ministers." It stands to reason that a race which can produce ministers to lay down policies can also furnish men able to carry out those policies, because in all countries the ministers are rightly taken to be men of higher calibre than the civil servants. So, considering that the principle has been accepted that in provincial affairs, all functions or subjects will be ultimately transferred to Indian ministers, it being taken for granted that such ministers will be found, why could not another principle and policy be recognised and laid down that in the provinces ultimately all Government servants from the highest to the lowest will be Indians ?

But, while insisting that all the services must gradually and rapidly be Indianized, for unless that is done there can be no real Indian self-rule, we should not forget that self-rule or responsible government is not at all synonymous with the people of a country getting all the appointments in the government of that country. Take the case of England.

When the civic struggles associated with the Magna Carta, the Bill of Rights, the Petition of Rights, the Revolution of 1688, &c., took place, all the highest and lowest servants of the crown were Englishmen. When the Civil War between the royalists and the parliamentarians took place in the reign of Charles I, the government services were filled by Englishmen. The different reform acts which have been gradually making popular representation more and more of a reality, were passed during times when Englishmen held all

posts in their country, high and low. But Englishmen have understood all along that to be the servants of government is not the same thing as to be the masters of government. And popular self-rule or responsible government means that the people are to be the masters of government. So while striving to obtain all the public appointments in our country, our aim should be not merely to be servants of government but masters of government.

Communal Representation.

In the report the arguments against communal electorates have been very ably stated. Nevertheless, Musalmans are to have communal representation under the new scheme, because, "they were given special representation in 1909, and the Hindus' acquiescence is embodied in the present agreement between the political leaders of the two communities." This we can understand. But the extension of the principle of communal representation to the Sikhs in the Punjab is altogether indefensible. Paragraph 229 says :

"The British Government is often accused of dividing men in order to govern them. But if it unnecessarily divides them at the very moment when it professes to start them on the road to governing themselves, it will find it difficult to meet the charge of being hypocritical or short sighted."

Exactly.

In the matter of communal electorates the only improvement on the present state of things is indicated in the sentence "But we can see no reason to set up communal representation for Muhammadans in any province where they form a majority of the voters." It should, however, be noted that "a majority of voters" is spoken of, not a "majority of the population." Musalmans form the majority of the population of Bengal. But if the bureaucracy wish to give them separate representation in Bengal, they have only to adopt such voters' qualifications in the East and North Bengal districts as to make the total number of Musalman voters less than that of Hindu voters by only a dozen or two.

Power of the Purse.

The power of the purse is the very corner-stone of all popular governments. But neither in the Government of India nor in that of the provinces, are we to have the power of the purse. Freed from all technicalities, the financial arrange-

ments would be something like this. Of the total revenues of India, provincial and imperial, the Government of India will first take what is sufficient to meet all their needs. That will be the first charge on the revenues of India. The Legislative Assembly of the Government of India will have no power to modify the budget in any way contrary to the wishes of the Governor-General-in-Council.

"The budget will be introduced in the Lagislative Assembly, but the Assembly will not vote it. Resolutions upon budget matters and upon all other questions, whether moved in the Assembly or in the Council of State will continue to be advisory in character." (Paragraph 284.)

In order to put the best complexion on thus keeping the peoples' representatives deprived of the power of the purse, it is said in the same paragraph :—

".....since resolutions will no longer be defeated in the Assembly by the vote of an official majority, they will, if carried, stand on record as the considered opinion of a body which is at all events more representative than the Legislative Council which it displaced. That in itself will mean that the significance of resolutions will be enhanced : there will be a heavier responsibility upon those who pass them, because of their added weight ; and the Government's responsibility for not taking action upon them will also be heavier. It will be therefore incumbent on Government to oppose resolutions which it regards as prejudicial with all the force and earnestness that it can command in the hope of convincing the Assembly of their undesirability."

But all this means "influence," not "power."

As far as we can see, private members are not precluded from introducing fiscal legislation. They can also bring in bills bearing indirectly on the budget. In all such cases, it would be quite easy for the Governor-General in Council, if he did not like it, either to get it thrown out or to remove from it the objectionable features, by following the procedure described in paragraphs 279 and 280.

As regards the provinces,

"We propose...that the provincial budget should be framed by the executive Government as a whole. The first charge on provincial revenues will be the contribution to the Government of India ; and after that the supply for the reserved subjects will have priority. The allocation of supply for the transferred subjects will be decided by the ministers. If the revenue is insufficient for their needs, the question of new taxation will be decided by the Governor and the ministers....The budget will then be laid before the council which will discuss it and vote by resolution upon the allotments. If the legislative council rejects or modifies the proposed allotment for reserved subjects, the Governor should have power to insist on the whole or any

part of the allotment originally provided, if for reasons to be stated he certifies its necessity in the terms which we have already suggested. * We are emphatically of opinion that the Governor in Council must be empowered to obtain the supply which he declares to be necessary for the discharge of his responsibilities. Except in so far as the Governor exercises this power the budget would be altered in accordance with the resolutions carried in council." (Paragraph 256.)

So far, then, as the budget is concerned, the representatives of the people in the provincial councils will have slightly more power than the elected members of the Indian Legislative Assembly. But the little power which they will have can by no means be called power of the purse. The Governor will not have any appreciable difficulty in getting and spending whatever amounts he wishes.

That "the provincial budget should be framed by the executive government as a whole," does not give any power to the people. For, "the executive government as a whole" will mean, the Governor, one European official councillor, one Indian councillor *nominated by the Governor*, one or more Indian ministers *chosen by the Governor* from the elected members of the legislative council, and one or more European official members without portfolio. It is clear then that in the executive government as a whole, the Indian element (not elected or consisting wholly of elected members chosen by the Governor) will be weaker than the European element.

The subjects which are likely to be transferred to the Indian ministers will be such as primary and secondary education, sanitation, &c., which have never had sufficient money allotted to them. Under the new scheme, there will be several additional high appointments, and the pay and pension of the "European" services will be increased. It is not at all likely, therefore, that the Indian ministers will have sufficient money for their subjects unless fresh taxation is resorted to. We strongly object to the odium of proposing and levying fresh taxation being thrown, and that at the very start, on the Indian ministers who will require all the popularity with and

co-operation of their countrymen that they can get to make the experiment of responsible government successful, before recourse has been had to economies *both in imperial and provincial expenditure* to obtain sufficient funds for education, &c. But as the peoples' representatives will not have the power of the purse in the government of India or of the provinces, economies will not be capable of being effected. The writers of the report think that Indians hold "an exaggerated view of the possibilities of economy in the reserved subjects." But we think large economies can be effected in imperial and provincial expenditure, and the salaries of high European and Indian officials can be cut down without impairing efficiency. One has only to consider the salaries paid to high officials in other countries to be convinced that in this country higher officials are paid on an extravagant scale. Many bureaucrats now swear by Mr. Gokhale. They will do well to read his Budget speeches, particularly, his speech on increase in public expenditure delivered in the Imperial Legislative Council on January 28, 1911, to be convinced that it is both practicable and necessary to cut down expenditure in many directions.

No doubt in the long run, fresh taxation will be necessary to raise India to the level of other self-governing countries. But we should first be able to see what can be done by retrenchment of non-essential expenditure. When we have been able thus to increase the earning power and incomes of the people, they will be able, too, to pay more taxes.

But if in the immediate future taxation must be resorted to, why should not the Governor himself obtain supplies partly in that way? Why throw the odium on the Indian ministers? Government are not unaware of the difficulties of new taxation; they know that there is little or no margin of taxation. The Secretary of State and the Viceroy write in their report (para. 187): "The defects of the present [educational] system have often been discussed in the legislative councils but, as was inevitable so long as the councils had no responsibility, without due appreciation of financial difficulties, or serious consideration of the question *how far fresh taxation for educational improvement would be acceptable*" (italics ours). This

* The terms as suggested in paragraph 252 are: "essential to the discharge of his responsibility for the peace or tranquility of the province or any part thereof, or for the discharge of his responsibility for the reserved subjects."

is very nice. Government have grave doubts as to the acceptability of fresh taxation, and, therefore, let the Indian ministers do what would most probably be unacceptable, and which on that account the bureaucracy have not yet attempted!

In paragraph 257 of the report we find it mentioned as a safeguard that "if the ministers and the legislative councils are compelled to accept allotments for the reserved subjects with which they do not agree, our proposal that a periodic commission shall review the proceedings affords another safeguard. Both the Government and the legislative council will decide on their course of action with full knowledge that their conduct in the matter will, in due course, come under review by the commission." But this is no substitute for the power of the purse resting in the hands of the people. Extravagant and unessential expenditure should be prevented and money for essential objects provided, every year. It is poor consolation that 10 or 12 years hence, a parliamentary commission may find fault with this governor or that councillor. That will not undo the harm done by the previous ten or twelve years' inadequate expenditure on essential objects and waste of money in other directions. Besides, the result of all inquests is uncertain, and the parliamentary commission would consist of Englishmen chosen by Englishmen. We cannot expect them to take the same view of things and of the relative importance of different government functions in India as we take. But self-government and self-determination mean that we are to decide what we require most and regulate our public expenditure accordingly.

Personal Liberty.

Without personal liberty, responsible government, or by whatever other name self-rule may be styled, is a sham. In the report, we do not find any provision for securing to the people of India a greater measure of personal liberty than they at present enjoy. On the contrary the liberty-destroying provisions of the Defence of India Act stand the best chance of being given a permanent place in the statute book. All penal legislation operating over the whole of India is passed by the Government of India; that will continue to be the

case in future. And the Government of India is to be irresponsible to the people as at present, being able to pass any laws which it thinks necessary for maintaining peace and order and for good government, and being also able to prevent the passage of any law or any section of a law which it thinks prejudicial to peace, order and good government. Moreover, as both in the government of India and of the provinces, resolutions of the legislature are to have effect only as recommendations, there cannot be any effective check exercised by the people's representatives upon arbitrary action, high-handedness, misrule or oppression by the executive and the police. The Governor General is to retain his existing power of making ordinances and the Governor General in Council his power of making Regulations. It is said in the report, moreover, "It is our intention to reserve to the Government of India a general overriding power of legislation for the discharge of all functions which it will have to perform." In the provinces, though the legislative council is to have an elected majority, the Governor is to have power to constitute Grand Committees, comprising from 40 to 50 per cent. of the legislative council, in such a manner as to keep for himself a bare majority. By means of the Grand Committee, he will be able generally to pass any bill by certifying that it is essential for the discharge of his responsibility for the peace or tranquility of the province or of any part thereof, or for the discharge of his responsibility for reserved subjects; "but the Legislative Council may require the Governor to refer to the Government of India, whose decision shall be final, the question whether he has rightly decided that the bill which he has certified was concerned with a reserved subject." In the case of legislation on transferred subjects, the report gives the Governor power to prevent the passage of any law or section of a law which trenches on the reserved field of legislation. It is moreover provided that all provincial legislation is to require the assent of the Governor and the Governor General and to be subject to disallowance by His Majesty, and the veto of the Governor to include the power of return for amendment.

From the statement of the principles according to which subjects will be divided into reserved and transferred and from

the illustrative list of transferred subjects printed in the appendix, it is clear that the responsible Indian ministers are not for the present (for a decade or decades) to have anything to do with the administration of criminal justice, police, C.I.D., prisons, working of particular Acts, e. g., incitements to crime, seditious meetings, press, arms, etc.

From what has been written above, it will be clear that personal liberty will continue as at present to be at the mercy of the C.I.D., the police and the executive. It will not be possible for the legislature, either of the Government of India or of any provincial government, at the instance of the members elected by the people and against the will of the executive government, to pass any law containing clauses like the following, taken from the Philippine Autonomy Law of 1916 :

"That no law shall be enacted in said islands which shall deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, or deny to any person therein the equal protection of the laws."

"That the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion, insurrection, or invasion, the public safety may require it, in either of which events the same may be suspended by the President, or by the Governor General, wherever during such period the necessity for such suspension shall exist."

Throughout the report it is assumed that the foreign governor general or governor is far more interested in maintaining peace and order and in good government and far better able to decide what means should be adopted therefor, than scores of political leaders of the country chosen by the people. A fine compliment to Democracy and Self-determination!

As an illustration of the extent to which the people of India may be permanently deprived of the right of the free citizen to enjoy personal liberty, we may refer to the recommendations made in

The Rowlatt Committee's Report.

The recommendations of this Committee would permanently place on the statute book all those provisions of the Defence of India Act which have placed the liberty of the subject entirely and absolutely at the mercy of the C.I.D., the police, and the executive, and, as we have seen before, under the Reform Scheme all the elected members of all the legislatures combined will not have the power to obtain *certain* relief from official tyranny for any aggrieved

person. *The Tribune* is quite right in observing :—

Most of the recommendations are such that the public can adopt but one attitude in regard to them, that of strong and unqualified condemnation. The police and the executive are all-powerful, even as things are. If the recommendations of the Committee were given effect to, their power would be immensely increased, and public men and public movements would be at their mercy in a far larger measure and degree than they are at present. We cannot help thinking that the report, judging from the summary, is the outcome of minds not only imperfectly acquainted with Indian conditions, but with either an inadequate grasp of the fundamental principles of the British constitution or with an inadequate equipment of that active and burning faith in liberty and justice without which mere knowledge is of no avail. Let us not be misunderstood. We are as anxious as any member of the Commission that crime should be suppressed and the spirit of revolution rooted out. If India became self-governing tomorrow, this task would yet have to be faced, and we should face it deliberately and determinedly. But it is one thing to suppress crime, another to adopt measures for this purpose that in their actual operation would make free public activities, except under sufferance, difficult, if not impossible. It is precisely because we believe this last to be the inevitable tendency of the measures proposed by the Committee that we consider it our duty to enter our strong and emphatic protest against them.

The recommendations are the outcome of the committee's historical survey of the revolutionary movements in India. That this survey cannot be considered complete, impartial and statesmanlike, will appear from what the *Tribune* says.

We do not know what material the Committee had before it for the compilation of this history. On the face of it its commission was a limited one, and the only evidence it was able to take was evidence which the executive Government placed before it. * We should think this was a very inadequate as well as unfair basis on which to place a verdict on the most difficult and complicated situation that the Government and the public in India have had to face since the Mutiny. Nor was the limitation of the material the only drawback in this case. For so stupendous a task as that of judging a political revolution the composition of the Committee itself was extremely defective. If it was the intention of the authorities that the work of political leaders like Mr. Tilak and Babu Bepin Chandra Pal and its supposed relation to the revolutionary movement should be judged it was essential to constitute a committee not merely with judges, and lawyers but with statesmen, and not only should every opportunity have been afforded to the gentlemen concerned and other political workers to state their side of the case but evidence should have been gone into both as regards the state of the law and of the country at the time, and as regards all the attendant circumstances. We are not aware that anything like this

* The only possible additional material, if any, having been obtained from some gentlemen in Bengal and the Punjab whom the committee invited to appear before them to give them "information from various non-official points of view." —Ed., M. R.

was done or attempted. What importance can the public, in the circumstances, be expected to attach to the verdict of the Committee?

Our contemporary then cites a historical parallel which is quite apposite.

One is naturally reminded in this connection of the committee of three judges who tried Parnell and his fellow-workers in 1888. On that committee a highly competent authority has recorded the following verdict:—"It was a strange and fantastic scene. Three judges were trying a social and political revolution. The leading actors in it were virtually in the dock. The tribunal had been specially set up by their political opponents, without giving them any effective voice either in its composition or upon the character and scope of its powers. For the first time in England since the Great Rebellion men were practically put on their trial on a political charge without giving them the protection of a jury. For the first time in that period judges were to find a verdict upon the facts of crime. *** A jury would have taken all the attendant circumstances into account. The three judges found themselves bound expressly to shut out those circumstances. In words of vital importance they said: 'We must leave it for politicians to discuss and for statesmen to determine in what respects the present laws affecting land in Ireland are capable of improvement. We have no commission to consider whether the conduct of which they are accused can be palliated by the circumstances of the time or whether it should be condoned in consideration of benefits alleged to have resulted from their acting.' " We leave it to our readers to judge if much of all this does not apply with even greater force to the case before us.

The Tribune also says:—

Nor finally is another fact to be overlooked. It has hitherto been generally believed that what is called the revolutionary movement in India had its origin in 1905, the year of the Partition of Bengal. The Committee goes as far back as 1893 to find the first indication of the movement, on the single ground so far as one gathers from the summary, that in that year certain isolated crimes were perpetrated. At this rate we fail to see why they should not have taken us as far back as the Mutiny or even earlier, and included the assassination of Lord Mayo and all other tragic incidents in India's chequered history in one master plot.

Considering how since the institution of criminal proceedings in England against Sir Valentine Chirol by Mr. B. G. Tilak, the bureaucracy have been directly and indirectly helping Sir Valentine, Mr. Tilak's paper the *Kesari* is justified in saying that the reference in the committee's report "to the Ganapati and Sivaji festivals and Tilak prosecutions is a disgraceful attempt to unduly influence the Chirol case.

Mr. Tilak, says the paper, challenged in the court of law to produce evidence and Government reports, to prove the very allegations made in this Report, but the Government declined to produce them as confidential, but now it appears that these very papers have been produced before the committee, and surely this will prejudice the court. This is

like a stab in the dark and amounts to contempt to the court in London."

The bureaucracy has hitherto had various weapons in their hands to crush those patriots whom they considered their political opponents or enemies. We are now reminded that they have another weapon also, namely, to get a verdict pronounced against them, on *ex parte* evidence, by appointing a committee or a commission. We do not know whether this is "privileged," but it is certainly not fair. No free citizen will care even to consider such a verdict.

Certain general observations of the *Kesari* are also worth quoting.

The "*Kesari*" characterises the Report as giving power similar to court martial to the bureaucracy in India. The paper says, the bureaucracy desires to launch a policy of repression and it has tried to satisfy its conscience by this report. When feelings of genuine loyalty are not in question, it is a most reactionary measure to add to the powers of the bureaucracy. Publication of the report, adds the paper, is an attempt to coerce unwilling public opinion into acceptance of the Montagu scheme.

It is the province of sociology to enquire scientifically into the origin of revolutionary ideas and propaganda and to suggest how they should be properly dealt with. Was any member of the committee a competent sociologist, or even a student of sociology?

Division of Functions of Government.

In the provinces the report proposes to divide the functions of government into reserved (comprising all the most important ones concerned with the maintenance of law and order, land revenue, tenants' rights, &c.) and transferred subjects, the latter probably consisting of primary and secondary education, sanitation, &c. A similar arrangement was suggested in the Joint Address promoted by Mr. Curtis and his friends, in criticising which in the December number of this Review last year we said:

"The problem of government, or, in other words, of ordered mental, moral and material progress for the entire civic body, is a problem which should be considered as an organic whole. Its different departments are inter-related and inter-dependent. One authority, be it one man or a body of men, should consider it as a whole and should settle the work to be done in different departments and control that work. Every State has certain resources

in men and money for carrying on the work of government. One and the same authority should apportion, allot or assign these resources for carrying on the work in different departments and directions, according to their importance and urgency, and control their use. In the kind of.....government proposed for us, it will not be possible for us to consider the problem of government as an organic whole or to think out its solution as such, nor will our representatives be the authority controlling the work of all departments as a whole of which the parts are inter-related. This may be responsible government, but it is certainly not self-government. From the bureaucratic point of view, too, the state of things will be worse than now. For the bureaucracy, too, will not be the authority solely responsible for the solution of the problem of government or for the carrying on or control of the work of all departments.

"When a man is in a debilitated condition, his relatives, friends or other well-wishers, do not entrust one doctor with the work of improving his toe-nails, another with the work of strengthening his fingers, a third with taking care of his teeth, and so on, whilst all the time the work of regulating the quantity, quality and kind of food to be supplied to him is reserved for a person who is beyond the control of the doctors. The procedure usually followed is for either one physician or a body of physicians to examine the whole physical constitution of the patient [and his environment], and prescribe the remedies and the diet."

To all criticisms of the above description the reply given in the report is:—

"241. No doubt we shall be told,—indeed we have often been told already,—that the business of government is one and indivisible, and that the attempt to divide it into two spheres controlled by different authorities, who are inspired by different principles and amenable to different sanctions, even with the unifying provisions which we have described, is doomed to encounter such confusion and friction as will make the arrangement unworkable. We feel the force of these objections. We have considered them very anxiously and have sought out every possible means of meeting them. But to those critics who press them to the point of condemning our scheme we would reply that we have examined many alternative plans, and found that they led either to deadlock or to more frequent or greater potentialities of friction. Such destructive arguments, so far as we can discover, are directed not so much against our particular plan, but against any plan that attempts to define the stages between

the existing position and complete responsible government. The announcement of August 20 postulated that such stages could be found; indeed unless we can find them it is evident that there is no other course open than at some date or other to take a precipitate plunge forward from total irresponsibility to complete responsibility."

This reply does not meet our objections. But let the reader judge. It speaks of "the unifying provisions," "deadlock" and "potentialities of friction." But the "unifying provisions" unify by practically subordinating the popular authority (called the ministers) to the bureaucratic authority, and deadlocks and potentialities of frictions are sought to be avoided in the same way, which is not popular self-government.

The Guiding Principle of the Division.

In dividing the functions of Government into reserved and transferred, the report suggests that the following guiding principle should be adopted:

"Their guiding principle should be to include in the transferred list those departments which afford most opportunity for local knowledge and social service, those in which Indians have shown themselves to be keenly interested, those in which mistakes which may occur, though serious, would not be irremediable, and those which stand most in need of development. In pursuance of this principle we should not expect to find that departments primarily concerned with the maintenance of law and order were transferred. Nor should we expect the transfer of matters which vitally affect the well-being of the masses who may not be adequately represented in the new councils, such for example as questions of land revenue or tenant rights."

It is interesting to note in this connection that in all the districts of Bengal, the Panjab, the U. P. and Bihar, in which in recent years, say since the Partition of Bengal, there have been riots, disorder and outrages on an extensive scale, the district authorities and the superintendents of police (in Calcutta the Commissioner of Police) have been Europeans; and that in those districts of these provinces which had Indian district magistrates and police superintendents there were no such riots, disorders and outrages. It should also be considered, that such riots, disorder, and outrages are of rarer occurrence, if not entirely absent, in the Native States.

As for the pretension that the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy have been and are more interested in promoting the welfare of the ryots and the depressed classes and safeguarding their interests than the

educated middle class, it will not bear a moment's examination. The Note in which Sir Dinshaw Wacha, Sir N. G. Chandavarkar and other moderate Bombay leaders supported the Congress-League scheme thoroughly demolished this pretension. We may in addition note that Sir N. G. Chandavarkar has written in Mr. G. A. Natesan's "What India Wants":

"The memorandum and the [Congress-League] scheme have been condemned in some quarters as being revolutionary on the main ground that their proposals transfer powers from the Indian Civil Service, who (it is said) are best fitted to represent the masses in India, to the Indian educated classes, who (it is maintained) are not the true representatives of the masses. We may, without fear of the result in favour of the Indian educated classes, invite one test which is a sure test, on this question. If we take the history of the administration from 1858 down to now, with special reference to the amelioration of the condition of the Indian agriculturists, who form 75 per cent of the people in India, we shall incontestably find that measures advocated in their interests by the educated Indians through their newspapers and public associations and at public meetings had been strenuously opposed as chimerical by the British officials in India for a long time and were ultimately more or less adopted under the stress of circumstances. It is the view of the Indian educated classes regarding the ryot's lot which, generally speaking, has after more or less painful experience to some extent won; and the official view has yielded in the end."

Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim of the Madras High Court, a member of the Public Services Commission, wrote in his dissenting minute in that Commission's report:

"In paragraph 18 of the majority report, allusion is made to the allegation that the western educated Indians do not reflect the views or represent the interests of the many scores of millions in India..... As for the representation of their interests, if the claim be that they are better represented by European officials than by educated Indian officials or non-officials, it is difficult to conceive how such a reckless claim has come to be urged."

Sir M. B. Chaulal, a late member of the Bombay Executive Council and a member of the Public Services Commission, recorded the following observations in his minute in that Commission's report:

"This is rather a shallow pretence—this attempt to take shelter behind the masses; and I think it only fair to state that the class of educated Indians from which only the higher posts can be filled is singularly free from this narrow-mindedness and class or caste-bias..... and I have no hesitation in endorsing the opinion of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, in his recent contribution on village life in his tour through Southern India, that the interests of the masses are likely to be far better understood and taken care of by the educated Indian than by the foreigner. As a matter of fact all the measures proposed for the regeneration of the lower and depressed classes have emanated from the educated

Indians of the higher castes. The scheme for the free and compulsory education of these masses was proposed by an educated Indian of a high caste and supported mainly by the western educated classes. High-souled and self-sacrificing men are every day coming forward from this class to work wholeheartedly in improving the condition of the masses."

One incontestable proof of the unflagging zeal with which the bureaucracy have sought to better the lot of the dumb millions of India is that, of all countries in the world under the rule of civilised men, India is the poorest, the most illiterate, and the most unhealthy, and in India alone there has been plague in an epidemic form continually for the last twenty-two years.

It is the educated middle class which has fought for tenants' rights, the latest proofs of which are to be found in the recent history of the Champaran and Kaira districts. It is that class which has always urged in the legislative councils the increase of grants for education and sanitation. They it is who have urged measures for free compulsory education, for the supply of good drinking water, for agricultural improvements, &c. And their efforts have been generally opposed and thwarted by the bureaucracy.

One main reason why Indians are not at first to have charge of "the reserved subjects" is alleged to be want of experience; they may have charge of some such subjects after acquiring experience. But what sort of experience will they have the opportunity of acquiring at first? If a minister has charge of village schools, co-operative credit societies, village roads, &c., how will his experience of work connected with these help him afterwards to successfully undertake the functions of the government relating to criminal administration, policing, land revenue, &c.? If it be argued that any government function being directly or indirectly connected with any other function, all being akin, experience in one is of value in the successful discharge of any other: we may reply, if want of previous experience of even a single department is no bar to a man's having charge of some departments (namely, the transferred ones), it ought not to be a bar to his having charge of other departments (*viz.*, the reserved ones), all being akin. If it be said that official experience is of value in any and every department, in whatever department it may have been acquired;—whilst admitting that it is so,

we may reply that in England and other self-governing countries many distinguished men become ministers without any previous experience of official or departmental work,—the permanent officials supplying that lack of experience,—and that a minister may be Lord Chancellor, first lord of the admiralty, foreign secretary, or president of the board of trade in succession or in different cabinets, without his having given actual proofs of very great versatility.

As for the argument that Indian ministers may make serious and "irremediable" mistakes, will anybody point out in what country even the greatest of statesmen have not made very serious mistakes? In the life of the individual there may be so far as man's earthly life is concerned, fatal and irremediable mistakes. In the life of nations there are no mistakes which are irremediable, though it may take long, persistent and strenuous efforts to undo the harm resulting therefrom. The school of mistakes is the only school where individuals and nations can perfect themselves gradually. If it is made impossible for any people to make great mistakes, it is also made impossible for them to acquire greatness of any kind. It is usual to compare the first efforts of a nation at self-government to the tottering steps of a child, and to say that one must learn to walk before one is permitted to run. But it is only a similitude. No nation is exactly like children; no nation has in history been prescribed doses or morsels of self-government as in the report under discussion,—no, not even the naked Gilbert and Ellis Islanders*; and no parent ever draws a definite line of demarcation between walking and running in allowing his child to master locomotion, no parent actually tests whether a child has mastered the art of walking before allowing him to run, and no parent prevents a child from even attempting to run before it has mastered the art of walking.

The Government of India.

We were under the impression that in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report there is no mention or indication of a time when the Government of India may be a responsible government; but that is a wrong impression. In the *scheme* proposed and

recommended in the report, there is certainly nothing said as to how or when even the first steps towards responsibility in the Government of India may be taken. But in the report, in the following sentence, the imagination of the writers carries them into a future when responsible government may develop in the Government of India:—

"It must, we think, be laid down broadly that in respect of all matters in which responsibility is entrusted to representative bodies in India, Parliament must be prepared to forego the exercise of its own power of control, and that this process must continue *pari passu* with the development of responsible government in the Provinces and eventually in the Government of India." (Para. 291.)

The words we have italicised contain the gleam of hope. There are such gleams in paragraphs 349 and 350 also.

So far as the *scheme* is concerned, it keeps the Government of India as absolute as now. Perhaps it has been made somewhat more absolute than now. For to the Governor General is given the power to dissolve either the Council of State or the Legislative Assembly. It has been also urged (paragraph 292) that, not only in respect of all matters in which responsibility is entrusted to representative bodies in India, "but even as regards reserved subjects,.....there should be such delegation of financial and administrative authority as will leave the Government of India free, and enable them to leave the Provincial Governments free, to work with the expedition that is desirable." (Para. 292). We cannot now say without a closer study of the report than we have yet found possible whether in some other respects also the Government of India has been proposed to be made more autocratic than now; we suspect that it has been.

The Legislative Assembly of the Government of India is to be more representative of the people than the present Indian Legislative Council, as two-thirds of its members will be elected. It will therefore be in a better position than the present council to *influence* the Government of India. But, as we have said before, influence is not power, nor is it control. In the Council of State, which will be like a second chamber, there will be an official majority, and that will be used to secure the passage of all laws and sections or clauses of laws which the Governor General may think necessary or desirable and to prevent the passage of all laws or

* See "Towards Home Rule," part II, pp. 65-70.

sections or clauses of laws which he considers undesirable or prejudicial to good government.

Government of India Legislation.

The following extracts from the "Summary of Recommendations" will give a general idea of how the Government of India will legislate :

The Council of State to consist of 50 members (exclusive of the Governor-General who will be President, with power to nominate a Vice-President). Of the members 21 to be elected and 29 nominated by the Governor-General. Of the nominated members 4 to be non-officials and not more than 25 (including the Members of the Executive Council) to be officials.

The Legislative Assembly to consist of about 100 members, of whom two-thirds to be elected and one-third nominated. Of the nominated members not less than one-third to be non-officials.

The following procedure to be adopted for legislation.

A. Government bills : ordinarily to be introduced and carried through the usual stages in the Assembly, and if passed by the Assembly to be sent to the Council of State. If the Council of State amend the bill in a manner which is unacceptable to the Assembly, the bill to be submitted to a joint session of both houses, unless the Governor General in Council is prepared to certify that the amendments introduced by the Council are essential to the interests of peace and order or good government (including in this term sound financial administration), in which case the Assembly not to have power to reject or modify such amendments. But in the event of leave to introduce being refused or the bill being thrown out at any stage, the Governor General in Council to have the power, on certifying that the bill is within the formula cited above, to refer it *de novo*, to the Council of State. The Governor General in Council also to have the power in cases of emergency so certified to introduce the bill in the first instance in and to pass it through the Council of State, merely reporting it to the Assembly.

B. Private bills : to be introduced in the chamber of which the mover is a member and on being passed by that chamber to be submitted to the other. Differences of opinion between the chambers to be settled by means of joint sessions. If, however, a bill emerge from the Assembly in a form which the Government think prejudicial to good administration, the Governor General in Council to have power to certify it in the terms already cited and to submit or re-submit it to the Council of State : the bill only to become law in the form given it by the Council.

The above will show that it will be utterly impossible for the elected members, even if they all combine, to prevent the passing of any law desired by the bureaucracy, however retrograde, repressive or subversive of liberty it may be, or to secure the passing of any law in the interest of the people against the will of the Governor General. It is true the Governor General in Council is to adopt the method of "certifying," but "good government" is a

sufficiently vague, elastic and inclusive term to enable him to do so with plausibility and a clean "official" conscience whenever he likes. In the case of "uncertified" legislation, there will be a greater chance than now of private bills passing, as in the joint sessions the elected members of the two chambers will outnumber the nominated and official members, and nominated official members of the Council of State or the Legislative Assembly are to have freedom of speech and vote except when Government otherwise directs. But obviously "uncertified" laws, though they may be more numerous than "certified" laws, cannot be of vital importance from the point of view of power of the purse, personal liberty, tariff policy, fiscal policy, pan-Indian educational policy, railway policy, &c.

Provincial Legislation.

The process of provincial legislation will be understood from the following summary of recommendations :

In each province an enlarged Legislative Council with a substantial elected majority to be established. The Council to consist of (1) members elected on as broad a franchise as possible, (2) nominated including (a) official and (b) non-official members, (3) ex-officio members.

Nominated official members to have freedom of speech and vote except when Government otherwise directs.

Legislation on all subjects normally to be passed in the Legislative Council. Exceptional procedure is provided in the succeeding paragraphs.

The Governor to have power to certify that a bill dealing with reserved subjects is essential either for the discharge of his responsibility for the peace or tranquility of the province or of any part thereof, or for the discharge of his responsibility for reserved subjects. The bill will then, with this certificate, be published in the Gazette. It will be introduced and read in the Legislative Council, and, after discussion on its general principles, will be referred to a grand committee : but the Legislative Council may require the Governor to refer to the Government of India, whose decision shall be final, the question whether he has rightly decided that the bill which he has certified was concerned with a reserved subject.

The Governor not to certify a bill if he is of opinion that the question of the enactment of the legislation may safely be left to the Legislative Council.

The grand committee (the composition of which may vary according to the subject-matter of the bill) to comprise from 40 to 50 per cent. of the Legislative Council. The members to be chosen partly by election by ballot, partly by nomination. The Governor to have power to nominate a bare majority (in addition to himself), but not more than two-thirds of the nominated members to be officials.

The bill as passed in grand committee to be reported to the Legislative Council, which may

again discuss it generally within such time limits as may be laid down, but may not amend it except on the motion of a Member of the Executive Council or reject it. After such discussion the bill to pass automatically, but during such discussion the Legislative Council may record by resolution any objection felt to the principle or details and any such resolution to be transmitted with the Act to the Governor General and the Secretary of State.

Any Member of the Executive Council to have the right to challenge the whole or any part of a bill on its introduction, or any amendment when moved, on the ground that it trenches on the reserved field of legislation. The Governor to have the choice then either of allowing the bill to proceed in the Legislative Council, or of certifying the bill, clause, or amendment. If he certifies the bill, clause, or amendment the Governor may either decline to allow it to be discussed, or suggest to the Legislative Council an amended bill or clause, or at the request of the Legislative Council refer the bill to a Grand Committee.

All provincial legislation to require the assent of the Governor and the Governor General and to be subject to disallowance by His Majesty.

The veto of the Governor to include power of return for amendment.

The Governor General to have power to reserve provincial Acts.

It will be clear from the above that though the elected element in the legislative council will have more power than now, it will not be able even by complete unanimity among its members to prevent the passage of bills which they consider to be opposed to the interests of the country, nor will they be able by complete unanimity to carry through even bills which they consider vitally necessary for the good of the country, against the will of the Governor. All that they will be able to do in such cases is to make a sort of appeal to the Government of India, the Governor General, or the Secretary of State. In the case of "uncertified" bills, which will not obviously be vital or very important, elected members will have greater power to pass their bills than now.

The Power of Dissolution.

We are against giving the Governor General the power to dissolve the Council of State or the Legislative Assembly, and the Governor the power to dissolve the Legislative Council. The British sovereign has the power to dissolve Parliament. But he is a constitutional king and acts on the advice of his ministers, and the British electorate has large powers. The British Parliament is dissolved when it is thought no longer to represent the views of the electorates. The Governor General of India and the provincial governors do

not stand in the position of constitutional monarchs, they are not to act on the advice of Indian ministers representing the people, our electorates are not to have even a considerable fraction of the powers of the British electorate, and our rulers cannot be expected to have better and more direct knowledge of the views of the electorates than the elected members, nor can we trust them to be better exponents of the views of the country than the elected members. The Governor General and the Governor may dissolve the legislative bodies to delay (to them) unwelcome legislation, to prevent or delay the ventilation of grievances or the exposure of misrule by the moving of resolutions, asking of questions, &c., to prevent the moving of otherwise inconvenient resolutions and for other bureaucratic reasons.

Parliamentary Control.

At present Parliament possesses the theoretical power of controlling the Government in India, but it seldom exercises this power. Still this power is a safeguard. In India Government should be made completely responsible to the people. So long as that does not come about, Parliament ought to have and exercise control. For full five years after the first meeting of the new legislative councils in the Provinces, the ministers will be very remotely and not really responsible to their constituencies. After five years they may be really responsible. Then, and not till then, should parliament cease to have control, *in the transferred subjects*, over the provincial governments and the Government of India. In paragraph 292, it is proposed, as quoted before, to leave the Government of India and the provincial Governments free in some respects as regards reserved subjects also. We are entirely against this proposal. So long as any Government is not made responsible to us in any matter, it should remain directly responsible to Parliament in that matter.

The Secretary of State's Salary.

The proposal to pay the salary of the Secretary of State for India from the British treasury is good and follows a demand of the Congress.

Parliamentary Commissions and Select Committee.

The periodical parliamentary commissions proposed are likely to do some

good, though they may also do harm in retransferring subjects to the reserved list. But the nomination of the members should be made not by our Secretary of State alone but by the whole British cabinet.

The proposed select committee of the House of Commons to keep the House informed on Indian affairs is also good.

The Ministers.

The Indian minister or ministers will be nominated from the elected members of the legislative council by the Governor. The practice in England is for the king to ask the leader of a party to form a cabinet. The Indian practice should be made, as far as possible, similar to the British practice. Otherwise the Governor's power of choosing ministers irrespective of their influence in the country, and his power also to appoint some elected members under-secretaries may be a source of demoralization. "Responsible government" by Indian ministers should not have the chance of becoming a government by safe men, toadies, or place men. It is just possible that a governor may choose the most capable, influential, representative and independent members of his council to become ministers, but that is not in keeping with the nature of autocrats and bureaucrats.

It is only five years after the first meeting of the new councils that the ministers' salaries may be required to be voted annually and thus they may be made directly and quickly amenable to control by the legislative council. We think their direct responsibility should begin earlier and with their tenure of office. The Governor has been proposed to be given too much power of control over them, as will appear from paragraph 219 quoted below :

"The portfolios dealing with the transferred subjects would be committed to the ministers, and on these subjects the minister together with the governor would form the administration. On such subjects their decisions would be final, *subject only* to the Governor's advice and control. We do not contemplate that from the outset the Governor should occupy the position of a purely constitutional Governor who is bound to accept the decisions of his ministers. Our hope and intention is that the ministers will gladly avail themselves of Governor's trained advice upon administrative questions, while on his part he will be willing to meet their wishes to the furthest possible extent, in cases where he realises that they have the support of popular opinion. We reserve to him a power of control, because we regard

him as generally responsible for his administration, but we should expect him to refuse assent to the proposals of his ministers only when the consequences of acquiescence would clearly be serious. Also we do not think that he should accept without hesitation and discussion proposals which are clearly seen to be the result of inexperience. But we do not intend that he should be in a position to refuse assent at discretion to all his ministers' proposals. We recommend that for the guidance of Governors in relation to their ministers, and indeed on other matters also, an instrument of instructions be issued to them on appointment by the Secretary of State in Council."

We are for giving them much greater, if not perfect, freedom.

We are against the retransfer of transferred subjects to the reserved list, by the Government of India or a parliamentary commission. We have given some of our reasons before.

Most Important Functions Kept Outside Popular Control.

From what we have said in several previous notes, the reader will have observed that the most important functions of government which affect the people of India as a whole, have been left outside the sphere of popular control. The Government of India exercises these functions. If our leaders had the power to shape the policy of the state in all these matters, not only would India have had the opportunity of producing many great statesmen, but the nationalization of the people of India could have been given great impetus. The moral growth of the people, in courage, in love of liberty, and in other directions, depends partly on the absence of repressive penal legislation and of legislation restricting foreign travel. The material prosperity of the country depends, on fiscal, economic, industrial, and railway policy, and on a ship-building programme and the policy regulating international trade and exchange. But all these matters are in the hands of the Government of India, over which we are not to have any control for an indefinite period of time to come.

Even full provincial responsible government can give us only parochialism and provincialism, nothing broader; it can also produce great diversity in civic affairs. Only if there be full responsible government for the whole of India in pan-Indian affairs, can our statesmen have a wide national outlook, and help in producing civic and national unity.

The Prospect.

It will be clear from our preceding observations that the Reform Scheme gives the people not the slightest power of control over the Government of India, but somewhat greater facility than now to exert influence over it. In provincial matters, the peoples' representatives and ministers are in no affairs given perfect freedom and full control, though their position would be somewhat better than now, and the power to influence government much greater. It is very anomalous that even after five years from the starting of the scheme when the ministers will be made responsible to the provincial legislatures by having their salaries to be voted annually, they are to be subject to the guidance, advice and *control* of the Governor. A man who is *controlled* by one authority ought not to be made responsible to another authority; it is the controlling authority (*viz.*, the Governor) who ought to be made responsible to the second authority (*viz.*, the legislative council). If the minister is to be responsible to the latter, he ought not to be controlled by the former.

It is natural to ask, will the Reform Scheme lead to full responsible government? If the bureaucracy and the members of the proposed periodical parliamentary commissions be *determined and anxious* to give responsible government to us, the scheme will ultimately lead to responsible government in the provinces, but not in pan-Indian affairs. But if they be not so determined and anxious, the scheme gives them very ample powers and opportunities to prove Indians utterly unfit for even what the Report would give us to begin with, and to take away even these "rights" or "powers" or "functions." Every change of ministry in every self-governing country implies that, in the opinion of the majority of voters in the country, the outgoing ministers had failed seriously in some directions; otherwise they would not be driven out of power. The greatest of statesmen have been subject to this sort of vicissitude and implied censure. It is plain, therefore, that if any Anglo-Indian Government or any Parliamentary Commission wanted to give the verdict that the Indian minister or ministers had seriously failed to do their work, it would be quite easy for them to do so; particularly, if, as is possible or probable, the Anglo-Indian

bureaucracy were inclined to be obstructive or did not want cordially to co-operate with the ministers.

History shows that ruling men and ruling nations do not willingly part with power and lucre. British Indian history has not so far been an exception. But in future, unlike the leopard and his spots, bureaucratic nature and selfishness *may* part company. It is a question of scepticism and the disposition to have faith in autocrats and bureaucrats. We are not unwilling to hope for the best, though previous experience may not make us sanguine.

Our final conclusion is that the Report contains nothing which makes Indian autonomy inevitable; it leaves our fate, humanly speaking, in the hands of Englishmen, whether serving here as officials, or living in their home-land.

Ex-Detenus.

We learn that many of the ex-detenus who were students are finding great difficulty in entering educational institutions. It cannot be the duty of Government to ruin these young men and make them sources of danger to society and the State. As Government provides education in reformatories for juveniles *convicted of crime*, it is much more its obvious duty to provide facilities for the education of these young men, *who have never been convicted of any offence*, in State schools or colleges, under proper safeguards and restraints, however stringent they may be. They have been placed in a position of disadvantage owing to Government policy and action, and it is therefore incumbent on Government to provide a means of relief.

The Menace of Fiji.

It would be folly to think that, where profits have been so enormous, capitalists in Fiji are going to abandon them without a struggle. The Colonial Sugar Refining Company has already begun to feel the pressure of public opinion in Australia. There has been no attempt whatever on their part, however, to remedy the evils. Instead of this, they have merely employed the cheaper method of slander.

In their Annual Report, recently published, the following significant paragraph occurs:—

"Concerning attacks on the Company in various Australian newspapers about the conditions under

which the Indian labour is housed and worked in Fiji, it is only necessary to say that all details of the living conditions of these people, and their relations with employers, are strictly ordered in accordance with regulations laid down by the Indian and Colonial Governments. In respect of health, earning and prospective employment, immigrants are much better off in Fiji than in India, the one serious defect being the discrepancies of the sexes—a point inseparable from emigration from every country: *The attack though apparently directed at the Company is really on the Fiji Government, and it is, we believe, instigated and carried out by the party in India which has for its main object the weakening of British Rule in that country.*"

The leader of the various organisations in Australia, which are trying to ameliorate the condition of the Indian women in Fiji, has written to Mr. C. F. Andrews as follows:—

"The argument here used, in this Annual Report, is the only argument I have heard defending the present conditions in Fiji, and it would surely be a serious matter for the Imperial authorities, if this line of argument is accepted."

There could scarcely be a grosser case of slander, with an ulterior object, than the statement that the abolition of indentured labour was instigated and carried out by "the party in India which has for its main object the weakening of British Rule in that country." To take four names only, out of many,—surely Mr. Gokhale and Lord Hardinge, Mr. Gandhi and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya could not, by the wildest stretch of imagination come under that category! But it is quite needless to argue such a point at all. The Directors of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company have, in their possession, the fullest information about India for which they have been ready regularly to pay their own price. It is almost inconceivable that their agents could have given them such false information. The more probable explanation is, that they found that this slander was an easy and inexpensive method of throwing dust in the eyes of the Australian public, at a time when great moral indignation had been awakened.

In Fiji itself, the Government appears to have completely changed round to an attitude of subservience to the C. S. R. Company and the Planting interests. A resolution has been passed unanimously in the Fiji Legislative Council as follows:—

"That the Government should take measures such as will assist in encouraging and promoting the resumption of Indian Immigration after the war."

That is to say the Fiji Government is now pledged to attempt once more to open recruiting in India for Fiji. The Fiji Government itself, unless prevented by the strongest action on the part of the people of India, will try, as soon as the war is over, to re-open the whole Indian emigration and recruiting question. In the course of the debate on the Resolution (which was accepted by the Fiji Government) Mr. Harricks, a leading member of the Legislative Council, spoke as follows:

"We are altogether too modest here about ourselves. In fact a great many people are inclined to run the place down. There is a man who is in every way adapted and qualified for the work of being our Representative in India."

Voices: "Who is he?"

Mr. Harricks: "Captain Lamb, at present serving in the Naval Corps. He writes and tells me that, from a knowledge gained in Mesopotamia, recruiting in Fiji could be very much easier after the War."

ADVERTISING FIJI.

Mr. Clapcott, a leading Planter, seconded the motion. They should advertise Fiji far more than they had done in the past. Moving pictures constituted an excellent method of letting Indians in India see what conditions in Fiji were. He agreed too that they should have a Representative in India to contradict all these reports that were going about.

The Secretary of the Colony said that the Government were prepared to accept the motion. He thought the questions of sending a man to India, and of taking Cinematograph pictures there, were matters for private enterprise.

Mr. Harricks did not agree that it should be left to private enterprise. Mr. Lamb had informed him that the name of Fiji was so good among Indians, that he would guarantee 3000 labourers the first year and 5000 the year after.

Proposals of Forced Labour in Fiji.

During the same Council Session Mr. Harricks also moved a resolution that "in view of the acute labour situation the Fiji Government should consider the advisability of releasing as many able-bodied natives as possible from communal and village work." Mr. Crompton in seconding the motion stated that the time had arrived to consider the conscription of labour throughout the colony. He did not think, at the present time, that any man, black, white or brindled, had any right to be idle, and if they would not work or cultivate they ought to be made to. He wished the motion had been worded more strongly. Mr. Hedstrom in supporting the motion, also thought that it ought to have been more strongly worded. May be, the time had not come yet for compulsory labour, but the time had arrived

when they should consider the possibility of compulsion. The Colonial Secretary said that the time had not arrived when Government could step in and force any man to work when he did not want to do so. The original motion was carried.

WORSHIP

You flood my music with your autumn-silence,
And burn me in the flame-burst of your spring.....
Lo ! through my beggar-being's tattered garments
Resplendent shines your crystal heart, my King !

Like a rich song you chant your red-fire sunrise
Deep in my dreams, and forge your white-flame moon....
You hide the crimson secret of your sunset
And the pure, golden message of the noon...

You fashion cool, grey clouds within my body,
And weave your rain into a diamond mesh....
The Universal Beauty dances ... dances,
A glimmering peacock in my flowering flesh !

HARINDRANATH CHATTOPADHYAY.

EVENING PRAYER

A hush in the scented valley
Packed full of purple shades ;
A streak on the far horizon
Where the last red glimmer fades.

A glimpse of the night's pale lady
Descending her golden stair,
To stretch her white arms seaward
In hallowing tender prayer.

A stir in the swaying palm tree
When the sweetest vesper then
Ripples the mystic stillness—
The nightingale's Amen.

GERVE BARONTI.

THE MODERN REVIEW

Monthly Review and Miscellany

Edited By

Ramananda Chatterjee

Vol. XXIII. Numbers 1 to 6.

January to June, 1918.

**THE MODERN REVIEW OFFICE,
210-3-1, Cornwallis Street,
CALCUTTA.**

Price of this Volume: Rs. 3 Inland; Foreign 7s.
Annual Subscription: Inland Rs. 6; Foreign 12s.

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